

In the transliteration of Arabic names I have followed the rules of the Royal Asiatic Society, namely :—

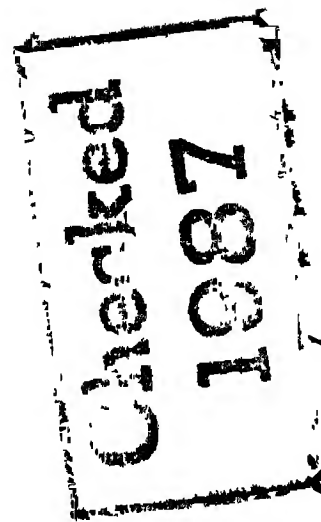
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STUDIES IN ISLAM

BY

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master of theosophic verses. He once met Avicenna and said of him, 'What I see, he knows.' The philosopher replied, 'What I know he sees.' His disciples wore a woollen garment and from the word *Ṣúf*, which means wool, they obtained the name *Ṣúfís*. The phrase 'he donned wool' (*labasa's-safa*) is used of a person who enters upon a monastic or contemplative life. His enemies denounced him to the *Khalífa*; and, as he was dragged, fettered, through the streets of Mecca, he said, 'This is one of the gifts of God; all He does is sweet.' The *Khalífa*, touched by his piety, set him free.

Another of the early founders of *Ṣúfíism* was *Dhu'n-Nún* (d. A.D. 860). He was a pupil of *Imám Málik*, the founder of the *Málikí Schoól* (*mazhab*) of law. He was the first to expound and explain *Ṣúfí* doctrines.

In course of time two branches were founded, one by *Bisṭámí* (d. A.D. 874) and the other under *Junayd* (d. A.D. 909). The similarity of the views propounded by the *Ṣúfís* to those of the neo-Platonic philosophy, to which in its later more philosophic form *Ṣúfíism* owes much, proved attractive to the *Shí'ahs*, amongst whom there was a strong Gnostic element.

It was a reaction from the burden of a dry monotheism, of a rigid law and a stiffened ritual. The orthodoxy of the Faithful did not meet the needs of the more imaginative minds of some of the Eastern races, and *Ṣúfíism*, supplying this want, found a home amongst them. 'From the earliest times there has been an element in the Muslim church which

was repelled equally by traditional teaching and by intellectual reasoning. It felt that the essence of religion lay elsewhere: that the seat and organ of religion was in the heart.' ¹ Again, the great political movements and the tribal factions in the early history of Islám gathered round divergent religious dogmas, a fact plainly seen in the very distinct theology of the Shí'ahs, the followers and the partisans of the Khalífa 'Alí. Súfíism lent itself readily to the cause of the 'Alids, to whom the notion of the infusion of divine attributes into 'Alí and into the Imáms, his successors, was a most welcome idea. The allegorical explanation of religious duties and principles, ceremonial and moral, sometimes went so far as to substitute for these duties absolute devotion to the Imám, and to the sacred cause of the Shí'ahs. The preachers of this new doctrine travelled far and wide and mixed with men of all sorts and conditions. In this way ideas gleaned from Zoroastrians, Hindus, and Gnostics may have entered into Súfíism and largely affected it. The third century A.H. found the Zindíq and the Mu'tazila controversies at their height. It was an earnest attempt to bring reason to bear on religious matters and resulted in a system of scholasticism. But from all this the Persian mind revolted. Reason and logic were no substitute for revelling in the sense of the beautiful, or for meditating on the love of God and the union of the soul with the divine.

The hard and fast system of Islám, with its clear-cut dogmas and its idea of finality in doctrine and

¹ Macdonald, *Religious Attitude and Life in Islám*, p. 159.

law, would seem the most unlikely place in which to find a system such as Ṣúfism, and, indeed, its strictly orthodox representatives look with suspicion on mysticism; but the Qur'án and the Traditions contain its germs. 'At one time they represent Alláh as having created the world once for all and as now removed to His seat in the 'arsh, or highest heaven, having left His creatures to work out their own salvation or condemnation by their own free will, according to the lights given them by the prophets; at another time they represent Him as the "Subtile Being," immanent and ever working in His creatures, the sum of all existence, the fulness of life, whereby all things move and exist, the omnipresent, not only predestinating, but originating all actions, dwelling in and communing with each individual soul.' ¹ The Ṣúfís gathered up ideas like these and taught that this closer communion with God, this looking behind the veil, this cultivation of the 'inner eye,' ² would enable them to see and understand much which was hidden from those who held that there was no real existence except that which was plain and evident to reason and sight.

Ṣúfís rely on such verses as, 'Everything is perishing (hálik), except the face (reality) of Alláh' (Súratu'l-Qaṣaṣ xxviii. 88). 'Wheresoever ye turn, there is the face of Alláh' (Súratu'l-Baqara ii. 109). By adopting the Shí'ah principle of allegorical interpretation (ta'wíl) the Ṣúfís claimed

¹ Introduction to Whinfield's *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, p. viii.

² دل یافت دیدگاه که متقیم هرآی تست The heart hath gotten an eye, always desiring Thee. *Diwān-i-Shams-i-Tabrízí*.

that every verse of the Qur'án contained a meaning known only to the elect and the initiated, that is, to themselves.

The wars and tumults in the early days of Islám, the rationalistic tendencies of the 'Abbásid period and the stern dogmatism of orthodox Muslims were all conditions favourable to the growth and development of the mystical system of the Ṣúfís. With them the true object of life was to bring it into harmony with the divine will of Alláh, conceived of as a transcendental personality; to attain this end love was a most potent factor, and ecstasy its outward form.

The Arabian philosophers made known to their readers the Neo-Platonic philosophy, which they had learnt from Syrian Christians, and the Ṣúfís adapted Qur'ánic terms to the new ideas they thus gained. 'The world of phenomena and man, everything else in fact but Alláh, they identified with Not-being, absolute nonentity, which like a mirror reflects Being.'¹ According to their theory the Infinite includes all Being, evil as well as good; but as this is not consistent with the goodness of the Alláh of the Qur'án, evil is said to proceed from Not-being.²

¹ 'Now a thing can only be known through its opposite—Light by Darkness, Good by Evil, Health by Sickness, and so on, hence Being could only reveal itself by Not-Being, and through the product of this admixture (to use a not very accurate expression), namely, the Phenomenal World. Thus Eternal Beauty manifests itself, as it were, by a sort of self-negation, and what we call "Evil" is a necessary consequence of this manifestation.' Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. i, p. 440.

² Introduction to *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, p. vii. Some of the early Christian Mystics held that 'Evil has no substance.' 'There is nothing,' says Gregory of Nyssa, 'which falls outside of the Divine Nature, except moral evil alone. And this, we may say paradoxically, has its being

As in man there is some spark of real Being, he would seem to be above all law, but this difficulty is got over by saying that he is now in the state of Contingent Being and so needs the discipline and restriction of law.

According to the Sūfīs, souls existed before bodies, in which they are now imprisoned and in which condition, being separated from the joy they had in a pre-existent state, they look forward to the death of the body for their full manifestation, and the full fruition of all their aspirations. The Sūfīs are fertile in reasons for eluding the authority of the text of the Qur'ān, as regards the resurrection of the body, a dogma which conflicts with their view of the return of the soul to God. When a Sūfī says that God and he are one, he does not mean that the divine enters into the human by a kind of infusion (ḥalūl), nor does he say that two substances combine to make one (itihād), but that God and the soul are one in the sense that all that exists is God and nothing exists apart from Him.

'I,' 'We,' 'Thou,' 'He' are all one thing,

For in Unity is no duality.¹

They argue that if it was lawful for the burning bush to call itself God in the presence of Moses,² so man may surely do the same.

in not-being. For the genesis of moral evil is simply the privation of being. That which, properly speaking, exists is the nature of the good.' (Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, p. 25.) So also in the *Gulshan-i-Rāz*, we read 'Being is purely good in whatever it be ; if it contains evil it proceeds from other.'

من و ما و تو و او است یک چیز * که در وحدت نباشد هیچ تمثیل¹
Gulshan-i-Rāz, line 449.

² 'And when he came to it (the bush), he was called to, "O Moses ! Verily, I am thy Lord ; therefore put off thy shoes, for thou art in the holy place of Towa."' Sūratu Tā Hā xx. 11-12.

Come into the valley of peace, for at once
The bush will say to thee, ' Verily I am God.'
'The saying ' I am God ' was lawful for the bush,
Why should it be unlawful for a good man to
say so ?¹

The reason given for the creation of the world is that God desired to manifest the mode of His existence in Himself, in accordance with the Tradition, ' I was a hidden treasure and I desired to be known, so I created the creation in order that I might be known.' It is the business of the Súfí to find this treasure, to attain to the true knowledge of God and union with Him. This self-existence God manifests by the mode of His existence outside of Himself, just as the image of the sun is seen in water. Thus in the *Gulshan-i-Ráz* we read :—

Not-being is the mirror of absolute Being.
The shining of the Truth is reflected in it.
Not-being is the mirror, the world the reflection, and
man
Is as the eye reflected of the hidden person.²

So long as this phenomenal illusive existence remains, absolute Being is hid and the answer to ' Show Thyself to me ' is, ' Thou shalt not see me.'³ Thus this Not-being is the evidence of Being.⁴ The Not-being is the mirror which reflects the Being. God alone is all, outside of Him is non-existence,

در آ دروادی ایمن که ناگاه * درختی گویدت انی انا الله¹
روا باشد انا الله از درختی * چرا نبود روا از نیک بخشی
عدم آئینه هستی هست مطلق * کز و پیدا ست عکس تابش حق²
عدم آئینه عالم عکس و انسان * چو چشم عکس دروی شخص پنهان
Gulshan-i-Ráz, lines 134, 140.

¹ Súratu'l-A'râf vii. 189.

² به بین آن نیستی کو عین هستیست *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, line 273.

۱ انا الله
۲ درختی گویدت انی انا الله
۳ در آ دروادی ایمن که ناگاه
۴ به بین آن نیستی کو عین هستیست

an illusion, just as one seems to see a circle when a light is twirled round.

The whole world is an imaginary thing,
Like a point whirled round in a circle.

The influence of the divine upon the human, which brings about union, is called *faid*, or an emanation, an overflowing. This is caused either by *nidá*, or calling; by *jadhb*, or attraction. These emanations flow down from God each moment, calling the soul and attracting it to Himself. Union, then, means the receiving these emanations into oneself, the being drawn more and more by the ardour of the desire for them, by abandoning all else. The idea of *jadhb*, or attraction, is given by Shams-i-Tabrízi in this verse,

The motion of every atom is towards its origin,
A man comes to be the thing on which he is bent,
The soul and the heart by the attraction of wish and desire

Assume the qualities of the Beloved.¹

We have seen that the words, 'I am a hidden treasure and would fain be known,' lie at the basis of the Sūfí system, and that in creation God came forth from internal to external manifestation. It thus becomes a manifestation of Him produced by intelligence, which again is the only means by which man can reach his true ideal and final aim, the perfect knowledge of God. But man sprang from that intelligence which originated the universe and so to it he must return. This is the 'nazúl,' or descent and the 'urúj, or the ascent which embrace the

جنبش هر ذره باطل خودت است * هر چه بود میل کسی آن شود¹
جان و دل از جذبه میل و هوش * همصفت دلبر و جانان شود

whole of the life of a Ṣúfí. The truly spiritual man seeks by entering into some religious Order and by placing himself under a Pír, or spiritual director,¹ to travel this upward road and at last attain to union with the divine. But before we describe the Taríqat, or spiritual path, there are a few other points to be noticed, as forming essential parts of Ṣúfí theories. All phenomenal illusions must be laid aside before there can be any hope of realizing the Absolute Being. The whole world must be looked upon as Not-being.

One day, when expounding his views, Jalálu'd-Dín said, 'Thou seest nought, save that thou seest God therein.' A darwish came forward and said that the use of the term 'therein' indicated a receptacle, and that it might be argued that God would thus be comprehended, whereas He is incomprehensible. To this objection Jalálu'd-Dín replied thus, 'He comprises all and in Him all things have their being. He is then the receptacle also, and comprises all existences, as the Qur'án says, "He comprises all things." ' It is stated that the darwish was silenced and became an obedient disciple.

All created beings, then, being included in the category of Not-being, the perfect man strives to rise to the state of Contingent Being, where for a

¹ According to Jalálu'd-Dín Rūmī, Ṣúfís attach great importance to this office.

Having chosen this Director be submissive to him.

His hand is none other than the grasp of Alláh.

چون گرفتى پيرهن تسليم هو * دست او جز قبضة الله نيست

Mathnawi, Book I, Tale x.

time laws and creeds are needed for his guidance ; but he does not remain there. He seeks to ascend to real Being and so to be free from all outward restraints, to be in no relation at all to right and wrong.

To the man of God right and wrong are alike,
The man of God has ridden away from Not-being.¹
I will be a lover of Not-being, not of existence,
For the beloved of Not-being is more blessed.²

Sense and reason cannot transcend phenomena, so they must be ignored in favour of the 'inner light.' This faculty is called *ṭaur*. 'In addition to reason man has a certain faculty by which he can understand hidden mysteries.' It is called by Shams-i-Tabrīzi the 'eye of the heart,' which is constant in its desire for God and by Jalálu'd-Dín the 'inward sense.'³ A modern Persian poet, Hálíf of Iṣfahán, writes, 'Open the eye of the heart, that thou mayest behold the spirit ; that thou mayest see that which is not to be seen.'⁴ This idea is not peculiar to Ṣúfís. It was held by other mystics. It is what Hugo of St. Victor calls 'the eye of the soul,' a separate faculty by means of which there is immediate intuition of deity. Thus do the pure in heart see God. In such moments the soul is transported beyond sense and reason, to a state similar to that enjoyed by angelic natures. This faculty of *ṭaur* is

مرد خدا را چه خطا و صواب * مرد خدا گشت سوار از عدم¹
Diwān-i-Shams-i-Tabrīzi, Ode viii.

بر عدم باشم نه بر موجود مست * ز آنکه معشوق عدم وافی ترست²
Mathnawi, Book V, Tale ii.

³ For what is inspiration (وحی) but the speaking of the inward sense
Mathnawi, Book I, Story vi.

چشم دل باز کن که جان بینی * آنچه نادیدنیست آن بینی⁴

to be used to gain the knowledge of God, apart from whom there is no real existence. Before explaining further the use of this faculty, it is, however, necessary for us to give some idea of the Šúfí cosmogony.

Šúfís divide the works of God into two kinds—the perceived world and the conceived world. The former is the material visible world, familiar to us all; the latter is the invisible, spiritual world, and also the world of command, so called from the words of the Qur'án used in creation, *كن فكان Kun fa kân* 'Be, and it was.'

The first thing which issued forth was the Primal Element, called by some the primary intéllect. Thus in the *Akhlâq-i-Jalâli* we read that 'the first principle which at the mandate, "Be and it was," issued by divine power from the chaotic ocean of in-existence was a simple and luminous essence, termed the Primary Intellect, and also by the great teachers of mysticism and investigation, the Muḥammadan Spirit.' It is said that the verse, 'And it was not the business of an hour, but even as the twinkling of an eye, or quicker still' (Súratu'n-Nahl xvi 79) refers to this creation of the Primal Element—the Jauhar-i-awwál. It has many other names, such as the Pen, the Spirit of Muḥammad, the Constructive Spirit, the Universal Reason ('aql-i-kull). It is the perfection of wisdom, is ever near to God, and is ever seeking Him. It is through the Primal Element that God's commands issue forth. Thus, as the Pen, it writes the commands of God. 'When the Qáf of His power breathed on the Pen, it cast thousands of pictures on the page of Not-being.' In

proof of this Sūfīs refer to the verse, 'N, by the Pen and what they write' (Súratu'l-Qalam xviii. 1). They say that 'N' represents the world of power, the 'Pen' the Primal Element, and that 'what they write' refers to the simple natures.

The final end and aim of all is man, who by a process of evolution is at last arrived at. This process is shown in the following verses :—

I died as inanimate matter and arose a plant.
 I died as a plant and rose again as an animal.
 I died as an animal and arose a man,
 Why then should I fear to become less by dying ?
 I shall die once again as a man
 To rise an angel perfect from head to foot.
 Let me, then, become non-existent, for non-existence
 Sings to me in loudest tones : 'To Him we shall
 return.'¹

Thus the final end of all creation was man.

There is no other final cause beyond man,
 It is disclosed in man's own self.
 That which was made last, consider to be first,
 The last which was made was the soul of Adam.²

از جمادی مردم و نامی شدم * وز نما مردم بحیون سرزدم¹
 مردم از حیوانی و آدم شدم * پس چه ترسم کی ز مردن کم شدم
 حمله دیگر بمیرم از بشسر * تا برآرم از ملائکه بال و پر
 پس عدم کردم چون ارغنون * گویدم کیانا الیه راجعون

Mathnawi, Book III, Tale xvii. The English version is from Whinfield's *Mathnawi*, p. 159. See also a similar passage in Book IV, Tale ix and in the *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, lines 317-339. In the latter passage man's journey is described from the lowest point, through the vegetative, animal and human grades, up to the highest point of obliteration of all consciousness and perception of the external phenomenal world and immersion in the sea of divine glory.

نه آخر علت غائی در آخر * همی گردد بذات خویش ظاهر²
 هر آنچه آید بآخر پیش می بین * در آخر گشست پیدا نفس آدم

Gulshan-i-Ráz, lines 263, 261.

So also Browning, who says :—

Thus He dwells in all,
From life's minute beginnings, up at last
To man—the consummation of this scheme
Of being, the completion of this sphere of life.

Man is complete when he has gained intelligence, but intelligence was the Primal Element; so it is the beginning and the end, the first and the last, and thus the mystic circle is complete. If man would be perfect he must rise up to the Primal Element and fulfil the words : ' From Him was the origin and to Him is the return.' It is this which is the aim and object of the traveller's journey. Thus Jalálu'd-Dín¹ says :—

From realms of formlessness, existence doth take
form,

And fades again therein. ' To Him we must return.'²

Şúfís claim for man the privilege of displaying the divine attributes. This is a sacred deposit committed to him. ' Verily we proposed a deposit to the heavens and to the earth and to the mountains between them, but they refused the burden and we entrusted it to man. ' ³

Just as the universe is the mirror of God, so the heart of man is the mirror of the universe. The Şúfí who would know God or know the truth must look into his own heart. In order to avoid sin and

¹ It is interesting to note that the great Şúfí poets, Saná'í, ' Attár and Jalálu'd-Dín were all Sunnís. The Şúfís were not separate sects, but as devotees of mystical tendencies are found amongst both Sunnís and Shí'ahs.

صورت از بی صورتی آمد برون * بار شد كائنات الیه راجعون³

Mathnawi, Book I, Tale v.

³ Súratu'l-Múminún xxiii. 72.

error and to gain holiness and wisdom, he must turn his eye inward, for

All the earth I wandered over seeking still the beacon
bright,
Never tarried in the day time, never sought repose at
night,
Till I heard a reverend preacher all the mystery
declare,
When I looked within my own bosom, and 'twas shining
brightly there.

We have already stated that the function of the Primal Element was to receive from God and to convey what was so received to the world. Thus it includes both the saintly and the prophetic offices. Some hold that each of these functions of the Primal Element needs an exponent, that Muḥammad is the prophetic exponent and that Al-Mahdi, the last of the Imáms, will be the saintly one. Others say that the Primal Element and Muḥammad are identical, and that, therefore, both offices are vested in him. This idea throws light on expressions which seem to consider prophets and Imáms as almost divine.

As man, then, sprang originally from the Primal Element, the Šúfí seeks to return to it. On the one side of the circle is nazúl or descent, which includes the whole process of development until man becomes possessed of reasonable powers; on the other side, is 'urúj or ascent, which includes each stage from the first dawn of the reasoning powers of man until he is finally absorbed in the Primal Element. This is the Origin and the Return of man. The ascent is called the Ṭaríqat, or road, in passing progressively from stage to stage

(*Maqâmât*) of which the traveller gains in each one an increasing knowledge of the mystical dogmas of Šúfîism. Before setting out upon the journey he must be possessed of the spirit of humanity and acquire capacity. These are referred to, according to Šúfîs, in the verse, 'And when I had fashioned him and breathed my spirit into him.'¹ The words, 'when I had fashioned him,' refer to the capacity bestowed for purifying one's self from all qualities and dispositions. The words, 'breathed my spirit into him,' refer to the gift of the spirit of humanity. The moral ideal of the Šúfî is unselfishness, patience, humility trust in God and single-hearted obedience to His will. This is the real fruit of progression on the Tarîqat, but it is gained only by spiritual meditation which prepares the Tálîb for the rich ecstatic experiences.

— If the man who desires to gain truth is in real earnest and striving to control his desires, he is called a Tálîb, a seeker. If the Tálîb feels drawn onward he is *majdhûb*, or attracted and becomes a Murîd, or disciple, and attaches himself to some Pîr, or spiritual director. He must now submit without a murmur to all that may await him and yield implicit obedience.² In the words of Háfîz he must be absolutely submissive,

His hand I stay not, though his falchion slay me.
So, too, Madame Guyon,
Be not angry, I resign
Henceforth, all my will to Thine,

¹ Sûratu'l-Hîjr xv. 29.

² This is why he is called in the *Mathnawî* (Book I, Story i) 'the son of the time present' (ابن الوقت), because he regards neither the days past nor the days to come, but is a passive instrument moved by the divine impulse of the moment.

I consent that thou depart,
 Tho' thine absence breaks my heart,
 Go, then, and for ever too,
 All is right that thou wilt do.

This absolute submission gains its reward, which she describes thus :—

This was just what Love intended.
 He was now no more offended.
 Soon as I became a child,
 Love returned to me and smiled.
 Never strife shall more betide,
 'Twixt the Bridegroom and the Bride.

FitzGerald in a free translation has caught the spirit of 'Umar Khayyám's verse which, under the metaphor of a chess board and chess men, makes submission not even an effort of the will, but looks on human beings as mere automaton, moved by fate and at last hurled into non-existence.

'Tis all a chequer-board of nights and days
 Where destiny with men for pieces plays;
 Hither and thither moves and mates and slays,
 And one by one back in the closet lays.

Sinful desires, sorrow and pain lie at the root of Self, and self is an illusion; but the entire negation of Self clears the way for the apprehension of the truth that there is no existence save that of God, who is the only Reality; all else is illusion. Life and its pleasures veil the truth from the eye of man. These must be set aside before the vision of the One is seen. This is what is meant by passing from negation to affirmation, from ignorance to knowledge. The initial stage is now passed and the man becomes a Sálik, or traveller, whose whole time and thought are given up to sulúk, and the

prosecution of this mystical journey.¹ This he must do until he completes the upward ascent of the circle and arrives at the perfect stage.

An important condition of entering on the journey is to think on the mercies of God and to ignore reason, which cannot discern the true light. It is only as man closes up all his intellectual apprehensions and ceases to strive to know, that he attains to the real knowledge of that which transcends the mind of man.

— The stages² of the mystical journey are eight in number, service, love, abstraction, knowledge, ecstasy, the truth, union, extinction.³ It is not easy to fix the words of Šúfí poets and to say to which stages they refer; but the ideas relating to all are there, though in no systematic order. Generally speaking, the second stage is the popular one with the poets, who delight in descriptions of God and man as the Beloved and the Lower. The Šúfí seeks for a type of heavenly love and finds it in earthly love. Beauty 'stands upon the threshold of the mystical world' and so earthly love, idealized in the frenzy of Majnún for Layla and the passion of

¹ In the *Lawá'ih* this advice is given,
'O Sálík in the way idle talk reject,
All roads save that to Unity reject.'

² They are not official grades, like those of the Ismá'ilians and the Druses, but just stages on the road to holiness and true knowledge.

³ St. Augustine arranges the ascent of the soul in seven stages. The last, union, which he calls 'the vision and contemplation of Truth,' is not a step but the goal of the journey. Of the blessedness of this state he says: 'I entered and beheld with the mystericus eye of my soul, the light that never changes, above the eye of my soul, above my intelligence. It was something altogether different from any earthly illumination.' (Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, p. 131). In the *Mantiqu'at-Tayr*, the poet 'Attár describes the seven stages as seven valleys. They are respectively valleys of the Quest, of Love, of Knowledge, of Detachment, of Unity, of Bewilderment and of Annihilation.

Zulaykha for Yúsuf, seems to him the nearest resemblance to the highest of all love, that of the soul for God. This is the key to ma'rifat, or spiritual knowledge, and so the basis of the highest life. 'The eye brings with it only what it longs to see,' and the man is blind to the deep things of the mystic life until the inner eye is made intelligent by love. Thus Hátif, a modern poet, says, 'By love many things will be made easy which in the sight of Reason are very difficult.'¹

Jámí in the *Lawâ'ih* speaks of love as a special grace of devout souls, a grace reason cannot find, and says:—

Oh, may it bring the dawn of certitude,
And put to flight the darksome hours of doubt.

Human love symbolizes the divine, the tavern is an oratory, intoxication the confusion caused by the sight of the Divine, the locks of the beloved are the visible attributes of God in nature² which like the curls on the face partly hide and partly reveal it. In the *Diwân-i-Háfiz* we read, 'I said to him, "Knowest thou what the claim of the curls of the Beloved means?"' He said, "Háfiz makes a complaint of the long and dark night of separation," that is, these chains bind the soul not yet worthy of the full light.

No doubt Şúfís often press the language of the poets too far, and show a faulty exegesis, for not all their poems are mystical. Whilst words bearing

¹ مهود آسان ز عشق کاری چند * که بود پیش عقل بس دهوار¹

² The varied pictures I have drawn on space,
Behold what fair and goodly sights they seem !
One glimpse I gave them of my glorious face.

The last line is literally, 'I showed them a hair's point of my curl' — سر مری از زلف خود نمودم—

an allegorical signification were often used to veil what to the devout Muslim would otherwise have been heresy, they often express just the mind of a man of pleasure, fond of a Bohemian life. Anyhow, Háfiz has not the credit of being a man of ascetic life. He delighted 'to float luxuriously between heaven and earth, and this world and the next, on the wings of a poetical expression, that might serve indifferently for either.'¹

The ordinary theologian cannot enter on the mystic path, for he is still in the bondage of dogmas and so wanders about in darkness.² He cannot grasp the full meaning of the Unity. When it is fully realized it leads the Şúfí to annihilate self in the absolute Truth, to become eternal in the Absolute, to be made one with the One and to abstain from evil, or, as Háfiz says :—

Háfiz, when preaching unity with unitarian pen,
Blot out and cancel every page that tells of spirits and
of men.

The ordinary theologian is in the bondage of taqlíd, that is, enslaved to dogmas and to creeds, believing blindly what has been believed by those who have preceded him. Now, the Şúfí gains his knowledge of divine things by direct intuition, and not through ordinary theological instruction, nor by scholastic methods which deal with the attributes

¹ FitzGerald, quoted in Leaf's *Versions from Háfiz*, p. 17, where the whole subject is discussed.

² کلامی کو ندارد ذوق توحید * بتاریکی در است از غیم تقلید
Gulshan-i-Rāz, line 108.

So also in the *Rubā'iyāt* we read

Some look for truth in creeds and forms and rules ;
Some grope for doubt or dogmas in the schools ;
But from behind the veil a voice proclaims
Your road lies neither here nor there, O fools.

of quantity, quality, and relation. He purifies his soul from sensible forms and images, so that from all intellectual apprehensions and all operations of the mind he may

Dismiss cares and be clean of heart,

Like the face of a mirror on which there is no reflection,

When it becomes clear of images, all images are contained in it.¹

Even contemplation of the external works of nature will not give the light. Śúfís even go so far as to set aside any external religious revelation. Indeed, indifference to all forms of religion is a cardinal Śúfí dogma.²

Thus Shams-i-Tabrízí:—

While my loved phantom dwells in the pagoda's bound,

'Twere mortal sin, should I the Ka'ba compass round.

The Ka'ba is but a church, if there His trace be lost ;

The church my only Ka'ba, while He there is found.³

So Jalálu'd-Dín :—

Say not that all these creeds are false,

The false ones capture hearts by the scent of truth.

Say not they are all erroneous thoughts,

There is thought in the world void of reality.

اندیشها رها کن و دل ساده شو تمام * چون روی آینه که بنقش و نگار نیست¹
چون ساده شد از نقش همه نقشها دروست

Diwān-i-Shams-i-Tabrízí, Ode xiii.

² In the seventh tale of the second book of the *Mathnawí* it is said that Moses heard a shepherd praying thus, 'O God shew me where Thou art that I may become Thy servant, clean Thy shoes, dress Thy hair and fetch Thee milk.' Moses rebuked the man for his foolish prayer. He was ashamed and ran away. God then rebuked Moses, saying, 'To each race I have given different ways of praising me. It is not the words I care for, but the spirit in which they are said. Various are the ways of devotion but if genuine all are accepted.'

در بتکده تا خیال معشوقه ماست * رفتن بطواف کعبه از عین خطاست³

گر کعبه از و بوی ندارد کنش است * با بوی وصال او کنش کعبه ماست

Diwān-i-Shams-i-Tabrízí, p. 238.

He who says everything is true is a fool,
He who says all is false is a knave.¹

So also Háfiz :—

Between the love of the cloister and that of the tavern
there is no difference,

For wherever love is, there is the face of the Beloved.

Wherever the pious works of the Muslim hermitage
display their beauty.

There are the bells of the Christian convent and the
name of the cross.

Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmi says :—

Cross and Christian, from end to end

I surveyed ; He was not on the cross.

I went to the idol temple, to the ancient pagoda,

No trace was visible there.

I bent the reins of search to the Ka'ba,

He was not in that resort of old and young.

But it was all of no avail, for the loved one came
not into view, until he could say :—

I gazed into my own heart ;

There I saw him, He was nowhere else.

In the whirl of its transport my spirit was tossed,

Till each atom of separate being I lost.²

Jání says :—

O Lord, none but thyself can fathom thee,

Yet every mosque and church doth harbour Thee.

In thus setting aside all external revelations and
in removing from the mind all impressions from

پس نگو کاین جمله دینها باطلند * باطلان برهوی حق دام دلند¹
پس مگو جمله خبالست و غلال * بی حقیقت نیست در عالم خیال
آنکه گوید جمله حقست احمقیست * و آنکه گوید جمله باطل او حقیست

Mathnawi, Book II, Taie xi.

چلیپا و نصرانیان سر بسر * پیمودم اندر چلیپا نمود¹
به بت خانه رفتم بدیر گهن * درو هیچ رنگی هویدا نبود
بکعبه کشیدم عنان طلب * در آن مقصد پیر و برنا نبود
نگه کردم اندر دل خویشتن * در آن جاش دیدم دگر نبود
حقیقت چنان مست و حیران هدم * که از هستیم ذره پیدا نبود

outward phenomena, all names and words are set aside, the heart reflects each new created form, and is illuminated with divine glory. This is set forth in a striking allegory by Jalálu'd-Dín, the greatest of all the Šúfí poets. A Sultán held an audience of Chinese and of Greek painters, who both claimed superiority. The Sultán gave to the two parties houses on opposite sides of the street, in order that the skill of both might be seen at the same time. The Chinese painted their house with many colours and in a most gorgeous manner, while the Greeks used no paint but simply burnished and polished the house allotted to them. When all was ready the Sultán went to inspect the work and much admired the beauty of the house painted by the Chinese. He then turned to the house of the Greeks, and

Just as the Greeks have put their curtain back,
Down glides a sunbeam through the rifted clouds,
And, lo, the colours of that rainbow house
Shine, all reflected on those glassy walls,
That face them, rivalling : the sun hath painted,
With lovelier blending, on that stony mirror
The colours spread by man so artfully.
Know, then, O friend ! Such Greeks the Šúfís are,
Owning nor book nor master, and on earth
Having one sole and simple task to make
Their hearts a stainless mirror for their God.
Is thy heart clear and argent as the Moon ?
Then imaged there may rest, innumerable,
The forms and lines of heaven.¹

The fact is that reason is considered helpless in such a case ; if the heart is cleansed ' from the stain of being ' it is right with God. All is then well

¹ *Mathnawi*, Book I, Tale xiv.

and the inner light is seen, light and life are found, certainty takes the place of doubt and love for ever rules the man. Just as the motion of an atom is towards its origin, a man becomes the thing on which he is bent.¹ Under the direction of the Pír, the neophyte will be shown all this and be guided aright.

The traveller must know his origin, must purify himself from all notions of self, and then he will pass from stage to stage and his journey will be one long revelation, leading him on from the mazes of Contingent Being to the Necessary Being and away from all darkness and defect.²

The effect of love at last reaches man, but only those who have the spirit of humanity and the capacity realize its full effect. Some gain philosophic wisdom only ; some become religious in the ordinary sense and follow the traditional systems ; but some become intoxicated with divine love.³ Such are the true travellers, and in them the effect increases, until they get freedom from all dogma and all ritual and even from existence itself. The desire of such an one so grows that it is said of him, ' The ocean-hearted, mighty drinker, who at one draught drinks up existence and so obtains release from affirmations

جنبش هر ذره باصل خود است * هرچه بود میل کسی آن شود¹

Diwân-i-Shams-i-Tabrîzi, p. 254.

² ' Behind the whole corporeal universe there lies another universe, an ideal or spiritual universe. This is the real universe ; that which we see with our physical eyes is, considered apart from it, but a shadow or reflection, so it is the knowledge of the reality, and not the image, that the soul needs, for her nature belongs essentially to that which is real and deathless.' Bonner, *The Nineteenth Century*, September 1927, p. 338.

³ یکی از یک حرامی گشته عاشق³ *Gulshan-i-Râz*.

and negations and becomes free from all need of worship and ceremony, now seizes the skirt of the Ancient of the wine-house.¹ The 'Ancient' is the Pír by whom the Muríd, or disciple, has been initiated, and under whose training he at length arrives at this exalted state. The Şúfí values the Qur'án as a divine revelation, but in practice he substitutes the voice of the Pír, his spiritual director.

But all that takes time and he must commence at the first stage, that of servitude. He becomes an 'Ábid, a servant. At this stage the honour of man lies in his being under compulsion, not in his possession of free will.

The next stage is that of love, 'the Sovereign Alchemy which transmutes the base metal of humanity into the Divine Gold.' Jalálu'd-Dín says :—

Love Him whom saints and prophets all have loved ;

Through whom alone we all have lived and moved.²

But to realize this love perfectly, all notions of time and space must be set aside.

Straightway lift yourself above time and space,

Quit the world and be yourself a world to yourself.³

The outward forms of religion and custom no longer bind the traveller. Distinction between the creeds passes away. The authority of law is over the 'I,' but

When 'I' and 'thou' remain not in the midst,

¹ *Gulshan-i-Rāz*, line 836.

² عشق آن بگزین که جمله انبیا * یافتند از عشق او کار و کیا

Mathnawī, Book I, Tale i.

³ یکی راه بر تو از کون و مکان * جهان بگذار و خود در خود جهان شو

Gulshan-i-Rāz, line 299.

What is mosque, what is synagogue, what is fire temple? ¹

The idea of ' I ' and ' we ' is for this lower worldly state, where praise and prayer ascend to God ; but the higher state is this :—

Immersed in the Beloved we shall be,

When in one soul shall we be ' I ' and ' thee.' ²

Jámí in the poem called *Salámán and Absál* says :—

Love is only

Perfect when itself transcends

Itself, and, one with that it loves,

In undivided Being blends.

Having thus learnt to throw off forms, looking forwards to the true union, the traveller can advance one stage more. He becomes a Záhíd, or abstracted. Contemplation and silence are now his duty. He must not respond to any earthly love, for the 'lover of God must be silent.' ³ This entire abstraction is called tajríd, literally, a stripping off, and, in Súfí language, a turning away from self and all else, the mortification of all desires, sensual and intellectual. It is only as this abstraction is persevered in and made perfect that the light of divine guidance shines upon the path, and the Sálík rises to this high dignity.

The light then comes and the next stage, that of Ma'rifat, or knowledge, is entered upon. It is by the light of the truth that truth is known. The

من و تو چون نماید درمیانه * چه مسجد چه کنشت چه دیر خانه ¹

Gulshan-i-Ráz, lines 504-5.

تامن و توها همه یک جان هوند * عاقبت مستغرق جانان هوند ²

Mathnawi.

چون عاشق اوست خاموش باش ³

traveller has no real existence of his own, it is only by the communicated knowledge of the existence of God that he can know Him. 'Beside Him is no knower or known.' The true knowledge of God is now revealed to the traveller, who learns the reality of that for which he has so long been seeking.¹

We have already seen that God created the worlds in order to manifest forth His glory. 'The first thing created was 'Aql, or Reason; Logos, the unspoken Thought, then the spoken Word. From this 'Aql, or Logos, emanated the 'aql-i-kull, or Universal Soul, the sum of all the divine attributes, called the 'ayán-i-thábita.' The light of these divine ideas then shone upon the darkness of Not-being and each atom of Not-being reflected one of them. Heaven and the Angels, for instance, reflected the attributes of mercy and hell, and the devils the attributes of terror. At last the soul of man, which reflects all the attributes, merciful and terrible, was created. 'Man is thus a microcosm, or recapitulation of the whole universe. On the one side he is luminous with the light of the merciful attributes, but on the other he is black with the darkness of the terrible ones, reflected in his essential Not-being.' He is thus created 'half to rise and half to fall' and has power to refuse the evil and choose the good. It is the object of the 'Arif, or Gnostic, to penetrate into this divine scheme and to understand how

¹ This mystic knowledge differs from ordinary knowledge ('ilm). It is the direct knowledge of God, gained not by human reason, but by revelation, or through apocalyptic visions. As a light from above it flashes into the heart. It may be compared with the gnosis of the theosophy of Hellenism. The Şúfí who gains the knowledge is now an 'Arif—one who knows.

divine power can be exercised without impugning divine goodness. The difficulty of the existence of evil, and the apparent contradiction of absolute sovereignty and free will face him, as it does all men, but through ma'rifat, or gnosis, he learns to understand it all and to reconcile the apparently irreconcilable.¹

This high knowledge leads on to Hál, or wajd, which is a state of ecstasy. Hál is defined to be 'a state which occurs to the heart spontaneously and without effect, like grief or fear, or desire or joy, and which ceases as soon as the natural dispositions of the soul manifest themselves.' Hál is a state of feeling which God causes to pass over the heart; it comes and goes as God wills; it is often transient, but, if God wills, it may abide permanently.

Happy that time when we leave ourselves,
When we shall be rich in deepest poverty.²

The next stage is that of Haqiqat, the Truth. This is called by some the stage of saintship, as being that at which saints and prophets arrive. It has its most perfect and complete example in Muḥammad, who is the Saint and Prophet, *par excellence*.

¹ 'The 'Arif, or Gnostic, had passed through many grades and a long course of discipline under various Pírs, or spiritual directors, ere he had attained to the Gnosis, which viewed all existing religions as more or less faint utterances of that great underlying Truth with which he had finally entered into communion.' (Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. i, p. 421). Dhu'l-Nún, a Copt or Nubian by race, was an early exponent of this doctrine of Ma'r.fat. He is said to have been a student of Greek wisdom, but he was regarded by orthodox Muslims as a free-thinker (zindíq). See *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. ix, p. 12.

² *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, line 690.

Individual saints are, as it were, his members,
For he is the whole and they are the parts.¹

The next stage is that of *Waṣl*, or union with God. 'By the help of God's grace I am now become safe, because the unseen King says to me, "Thou art the soul of the world." ' God is the world and the Ṣúfī at this stage becomes identical with the divine essence and can say with *Manṣúr Halláj*, 'I am God.'² He now ignores all separate existence, and nothing remains but real Being.

Thus *Jalálu'd-Dín* :—

'There is no 'two' unless you are a worshipper of form ;
Before Him who is without form all becomes one.

Thus *Ma'arrí* :—

Thy beauty is the medicine of their care,
Union with thee their hope that kills despair,
Unless with loving hands thou lead them on,
Their souls will go the way their hearts have gone.

Sa'dí says that the pinnacle of union cannot be reached until individual existence (*selfhood*) is destroyed (*Ode lxii. 10*), and that he who loses his heart in the street of the Beloved will find it again in the light of the Beloved's face : in other words, the Ṣúfī, who loses his (phenomenal) self in God, in the light of the Divine Reality will find his real self.

The following passage from the *Gulshan-i-Ráz* describes this stage more fully :—

The glory of the 'Truth' admits of no duality,
In that glory is no 'I,' nor 'we,' nor 'thou.'

وجود اولیا او را چو عیونند * که او کلیست و ایشان هم چو جزوند¹
² *Manṣúr Halláj* was beheaded in A.H. 309 for this saying, which was looked upon as heresy. Before his execution he was subjected to the most frightful tortures. For an excellent account of this remarkable man see Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. 6 pp. 426-36.

'I,' 'we,' 'thou,' and 'He' are all one thing,
For in unity there is no distinction of persons.¹

The verse of the Qur'án, 'Oh! thou soul which art at rest, return to thy Lord, pleased and pleasing Him: enter thou among my servants, and enter thou my Paradise' (Súratu'l-Fajr lxxxix. 27-30) is interpreted to mean that God and the blessings of His presence are to be found in the heart of the believer. Thus Jalálu'd-Dín says:—

The Prophet said, that God hath declared,
I am not contained in aught above or below.
I am not contained in earth, or sky, or even
In highest heaven, know this for a surety, O beloved!
I am contained in the believer's heart!
If you seek me, search in such hearts.²

He also said:—

The heart is love's register,
The Book (Qur'án) is not better than it.³

In Šúfí language the heart is a non-material essence, which like a mirror reflects the reality of all things.

This union with God is sometimes based on the verse 'He is the first and the last: the Seen and the Hidden' (literally, the exterior and the interior)

جناب حضرت حق را دوئی نیست * دران حضرت من و ما و توئی نیست¹
من و ما و تو و او هست یک چیز * که در وحدت نباشد هیچ تمثیز
Gulshan-i-Ráz, lines 448-9.

گفت پیغمبر که حق فرموده است * من نگنجم هیچ در بالا و پست²
در زمین و آسمان و عرش نیز * من نگنجم این یقین دان ای عزیز
در دل مومن گنجم ای عجز * گر مرا جوئی دران دلها طلب
Mathnawí, Book I, Tale viii.

There is a tradition to the same effect.

قلوب المومنین عرش الله تعالى

The hearts of believers are the throne of God.

دل دفتر عشق است * کتابی به ازین نیست³

(Súratu'l-Hadíd lvii. 3). Sūfís explain the term exterior (zāhir) to be everything that appears, so that all things are God; but the orthodox say that the terms 'exterior and interior' are only proofs of His existence not of His nature.

Jalálu'd-Dín describes how the emancipated man is exalted above heaven and earth and rises to a state past all description. It was :—

Ecstasy and words beyond all ecstatic words,
Immersion in the glory of the Lord of glory,
Immersion from which escape was none
Except as ocean, no one knew him more.¹

A favourite illustration is that of a number of candles, each of which gives light; but the full light of all cannot be divided into separate parts. One light and one only is diffused.

He also says, 'If the highest and most glorious unity, which is God Himself, is to be united on the Soul, it must be through oneness.' At this stage the desire for heaven may be a hindrance to the perfect man.

What have we to do with desire for the highest heaven
When our journey is to the rose-garden of unity.

Ghazálí defines this absorption as a state when 'a man is so utterly absorbed that he perceives nothing of what is passing around, yet while absent, as it were, from all things whatsoever, he is journeying *to* his Lord and then *in* his Lord.'

The next and final stage is Faná, or extinction.

حال و قالی از و رای حال و قال * غرق گشته در جمال ذوالجلال¹
غرقة نی که خلاصی باهدش * یا بجز دریا کسی بشناسدش

Mathnawi, Book I, Tale vii.

This is known as *ḥulūl* by which in the present life God enters into the human soul. The idea is based on the old Persian belief about reincarnation and to the Neo-Platonic theories on the subject.

Now 'man, the final product of this evolutionary chain, returns to his original home.' It is annihilation in God (Faná fi'lláh). This 'absorption in the Deity, the merging of the individual soul of the Saint in the universal soul of God is the ultimate aim of Šúfíism.'¹

Jalálu'd-Dín says, 'Annihilate thyself before the One. If thou wouldest shine with splendour of day, burn up thy separate existence as black as night.'² Báyazíd of Bístám was the great exponent of this doctrine.

A story is told of how a gnat came to Solomon and complained about the enmity of the wind. The King summoned both parties to his presence. The wind came and instantly the gnat flew away. This is said to represent those who seek the presence of God and when He appears, they vanish. In other words there must be annihilation of self, before there can be union with God.

Jalálu'd-Dín relates that one day a lover knocked at the door of the Beloved, who said, 'Who is there?' 'It is I,' said the lover. The answer came, 'This house will not hold me and thou.' The sad lover wandered in the wilderness for a short time and fasted and prayed, and, after a year had passed, returned and knocked at the door once more. Again the question was put, 'Who is there?' 'It is thou,' replied the lover. The door was immediately opened. The Beloved and the lover met and became one.

¹ Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, p. 63

² *Mathnawi*, Book I, Tale x.

Reason is called upon to tread the way of annihilation in order to get the larger life. ‘O Reason, to gain eternal life, live everlastingly the way of death.’¹ So long as there is any sense of individuality left, even prayer is not real.

When your essence is free from all stain (of individuality),

Then it is that your prayers are a joy.

There remains then no distinction,

Knower and known are one and the same.²

It is the mark of the perfect man that, after being lost to self, he abides in God; he passes from plurality to unity. This is the *baqá* after *faná*. So in Farídu'd-Dín ‘Attár’s delightful Allegory, the *Mantiqu’-t-Tayr*, the Simurg, who in Şúfí poetry represents the Supreme Being, addresses the birds, who represent the seekers of the divine way, the *Taríqat*, thus: ‘Annihilate yourselves now in me joyfully and gloriously so that you find yourselves in me.’

The object of the *Sálik* is now to ‘lose all consciousness of individual existence—to sink in the ocean of Divine Life, as a breaking bubble into the stream on the surface of which it has for a moment arisen.’

All creeds, all law, are things of the past. They had a temporary use, but are now no more. Jalálu'd-Dín compares them to water flowing down a mill stream which provides for man's needs, but

¹ *Diwán-i-Shams-i-Tabrízí*, Ode iv.

² چو ذاتت پاک گردد از همه هین * نمازت گردد آنکه قره العین
نماند درمیانه هیچ تمیز * شود معروف و عارف جمله یک چیز
Gulshan-i-Raz, line 412.

when once these have been supplied the water is turned off and the mill stops.¹ At this stage it is useless to enunciate the dogma of the Unity even. The true light is gained not by accepting a dogma, but by the annihilation of self in the darkness of the night of non-existence. The seeker after all his search, the traveller after all his wearisome journey, passes behind the veil and finds—nothing. Sad ending to so much effort.

The circle is now complete. In the downward descent law was obeyed and creeds were believed; in the upward ascent² the hold on both was loosened more and more, until at last the traveller became the azád, or the free; the be-shara', or one without law; the majdhúb-i-muṭlaq, or the entirely devoted.³ So 'his end is joined to his beginning,' and he re-enters the normal element from which he originally sprung. This casting aside of all law is the logical result of Pantheism. If God be all in all, and man's apparent individuality a delusion of the perceptive faculty, there exists no will which can act, no conscience which can reprove or applaud.⁴

¹ *Mathnawi*, Book I, Tale ii.

² In this ascent ('Urúj) a man at first is a believer (Mú'min), then a recluse (Zâhid), then a knower ('Arif), then a saint (Walí) and lastly a prophet (Nabí) and when his mission is accomplished he is the seal (Khatm). Then Muḥammad is called 'The Seal of the Prophets' (Khatmu'l-Anbiyá').

³ Jadhb or attraction is the act of God drawing a man towards Himself. Man is entangled in the affairs of this world until the grace of God attracts him from it. Many Sûfis remain at this stage and do not pass from it. He who does go farther on the Path is called a Majdhúb-i-Sâlik.

⁴ 'The Divine Immanences is a truth essential to religion. . . . The Christian Apostle can claim as a belief common to himself and his Greek audience, that "in God we live and move and have our being," and that "we also are His offspring." But the Divine Immanence may be interpreted either consistently with, or antagonistically to,

At this stage there is often some confusion of thought in Persian poetry, for the perfect devotee is sometimes represented as obedient to law.

The Saint is obedient as to his essence,
He is a devotee in the street of essence.
However his work is finished at the time
That his end is joined again to his beginning.¹

The explanation seems to be that, having made the ascent *to* the divine, he now descends again, not as at first, but *in* God, in order that he may make disciples of others still in darkness and error.² Thus, for the sake of example only he is obedient. Those whom he gains then make the ascent as he has done, and so all Šúfís come at last to the stage when 'Gracious is He to those who return to Him.'³

In an ode of much beauty in the original, Shams-i-Tabrízí describes the perfect Šúfí. A few lines are here given.⁴

an "ethical monotheism," such as was reached by Hebrew Prophets, and is the basis of Christian theology. If immanence is understood as *identity*, the universe and God are so absolutely one that man has no freedom, no responsibility, no sin and no guilt, and God is expressed in the crimes and vices of human history as in the progress of mankind in truth, righteousness, grace: then we have pantheism, and that is essentially opposed to the Christian faith.' (Garvie, *Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus*, p. 523). This seems to be the result of the Šúfíistic doctrine of absorption in the Divine.

بود تابع ولی از روی معنی * بود عابد ولی در کوی معنی¹
ولی وقتی رسد کاوش تمام * که بآغاز گردد باز انجام

• These obscure verses are explained by a Persian commentator to mean that, though the man is absorbed in the Truth, he is still obedient as to his essence, because by obedience he obtained his exaltation.

² This is the mark of the Perfect Man, who not only journeys *to* God, i.e. passes from plurality to unity, but *in* and *with* God, i.e. continuing in the unitive state, he returns with God to the phenomenal world, from which he set out and manifests unity in plurality.' Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islām*, p. 163.

³ Súrátu Bani Isrá'íl, xvii. 27.

مرد خدا مست بود بی شراب * مرد خدا گنج بود در خراب⁴

The man of God is drunken without wine,
 The man of God is a treasure in a ruin.
 The man of God is made wise by the Truth,
 The man of God is not learned from books.¹
 To the man of God right and wrong are alike.²

The earlier Muḥammadan mystics sought to impart life to a rigid and formal ritual,³ and though the seeds of pantheism were planted in their system from the first, they maintained that they were orthodox. 'Our system of doctrine,' said Al-Junayd, 'is firmly bound up with the dogmas of the Faith, the Qur'án, and the Traditions.' There was a moral earnestness about these men which frequently restrained the arm of unrighteous despotism, and their sayings seem to show some appreciation of the spiritual side of life. Thus, 'As neither meat nor drink profit the deceased body, so no warning avails to touch the heart full of the love of the world.' 'The work of the holy man doth not consist in this, that he eats grain and

مرد خدا عالم از حق بود * مرد خدا نیست فقیه از کتاب
 مرد خدا را چه خطا و صواب

Diwān-i-Shams-i-Tabrīzi, Ode viii. The translation of this, and of several other quotations, is by R. A. Nicholson, whose edition of the *Diwān* is an excellent one.

¹ Mere learning from books will not make a theologian. The knowledge of God comes by عشق love, the spiritual faculty, intuition, illumination which is opposed to عقل, the intellectual faculty.

² The Ṣūfī is above law. All he does, good or bad, is in harmony with the divine will.

³ Of them Professor Brown says, 'We find their utterances reflecting little more than a devout quietism, an earnest desire for something deeper and more satisfying to ardent souls than the formalism generally prevalent in Islām, and a passionate love of God for His own sake, not for the sake of the rewards or punishments which He may bestow. . . . So 'Attār quotes the saying of a Ṣūfī, "O God, Thou knowest that in mine eyes the Eight Paradises weigh no more than the wing of a gnat compared with the honour which Thou hast shown me in giving me Thy love." ' *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 424.

clothes himself in Súf, or wool; but in the knowledge of God and in submission to His will.' 'Hide thy good deeds as closely as thou wouldst hide thy sins.' 'He will never gain heaven, who considers himself perfect.' 'Boast not brother; whatsoever thou hast done, God knows thy heart.' 'The light of religion alone can quench the fire of lust.' 'Wait content, God knows what is best.'

Now and again men are warned that they will reap as they sow, and in a striking passage Jalálu'd-Dín describes how at the day of judgement every thought which has passed through the mind in this life will be embodied in a visible form, just as the ideas of the architect find an outward expression in the completed building, or as a tree in the development of the seed placed in the ground.¹

In the wild days when Muslim chiefs went forth to conquer or to die, when dynasty succeeded dynasty in bewildering rapidity, when might was right and autocratic power ruled, sometimes well oftener ill, the Súfí poets acted as men of heroic mould and gave to Sultáns and to Sháhs, fearless of all consequence, sound and good advice. Thus the poet Jámí to a ruler could say :—

Thou art a shepherd, and thy flock the people
To help and save, not ravage and destroy,
For which is, for the other, flock or shepherd?

Even in a book like the great poem of Jalálu'd-Dín, in which Súfíism pure and simple, with all its disregard for the outward restraints of an objective

¹ *Mathnawi*, Book V, Tale viii.

revelation, is inculcated, the author now and again teaches sound and wise principles.

To trust in God, and yet put forth our utmost skill,
The surest method is to work His holy will,
The friend of God must work.

Again he says :—

The Prophet cried with a loud voice,
Trust in God, yet tie the camel's leg.
Hear the adage, ' The worker is the friend of God ; '
Trust in Providence, but neglect not to use means.¹

In course of time pantheistic ideas were super-added to the quietism of the earlier Šúfís, a step neither long nor difficult. An extreme form of it is found in Al-Halláj,² who in his ecstasies said, ' I am the Truth,' and claimed that the Deity had become incarnate in him and that he was God. So the effect of the system has been bad and has worked for evil in Islám. Pantheistic in creed and too often antinomian in practice, it possesses no regenerative power. The divorce between the religious and the worldly life has been disastrous. Šúfīism has discriminated between those who by renouncing the world profess to know God, and those whom it terms the ignorant herd. When it was believed that there was identity of essence between God and man, a distinct and separate existence could not be allotted to either. When man's apparent individuality is looked upon as a delusion of the perceptive faculty, there seems no

گفت پیغمبر با آواز بلند * با توکل زانو آهتر ببند¹

رمز الكاسب حبيب الله مشنو * از توکل در مسجوب كاهل نشو

Mathnawi, Book I, Tale v.

² For a good account of Al-Halláj, see Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. i, pp. 42-836.

room left for will or conscience. 'A movement animated at its outset by a high and lofty purpose has degenerated into a fruitful source of ill. The stream which might have been a fertilizing river has become a vast swamp, exhaling vapours charged with disease and death.' Moral laws and ceremonial observances have only an allegorical meaning. Creed's are but fetters cunningly devised to limit the flight of the soul; all that is objective in religion is a restraint to the reason of the initiated. The mystic finds great joy in the movements of his soul, and is apt to treat more lightly of the necessary contact of the mind with the things of sense, and to neglect essential duties.

How it all deadens the sense of sin is seen in 'Umar Khayyám's verse,

← Khayyám ! why weep you that your life is bad ;
 What boots it thus to mourn ? Rather be glad. →
 He that sins not can make no claim to mercy ;
 Mercy was made for sinners—be not sad.

In a collection of short fragmentary pieces like the Diván of Hátiz, or in a longer poem like the Mathnawi of Jalálu'd-Dín, the pearls of Šúfiistic lore, to use an eastern metaphor, are loosely strung together, and it is only very patient students who can find the esoteric meaning of the poet.¹ There is, however, a small poem less widely known, but

¹ Forbidden things are spoken of as if they were lawful ; such as wine, taverns, curls of the mistress and sweethearts. The explanation given is that Šúfis look at the internal features of things, exchange the corporeal for the spiritual, and thus to outward form give an imaginary signification. By wine they mean the love of God, the tavern is the excellent preceptor to whom a strong personal attachment is formed. The curls of the beloved are the praises of the preceptor which bind the heart and affections of the disciple to him. Similar mystical meanings are given to other terms of a mundane character.

which is unrivalled as an exposition of Súfíism. It is the *Salámán* and *Absál* by the great poet Jámí. The advantage of the form of instruction he has adopted in it is that the tale is continuous and is explained by the author himself.

Jámí according to the usual custom of the poets, commences by an invocation of the eternal Spirit. Then confused and lost in the contemplation of self and of that 'other than self' he prays,

Do Thou my separate and derived self
Make one with thy Essential ! Leave me room
On that Diván which leaves no room for twain ;
Lest, like the simple Arab in the tale,
I grow perplexed, Oh God, 'twixt ' Me ' and ' Thee '
If I—this spirit that inspires me whence ?
If Thou—then what this sensual impotence ?

This gives the key-note to the whole story which is an account of the way in which the soul returns to Him who made it. The Arab story referred to is an amusing and excellent illustration of the manner in which matters of serious moment were lightly parodied.

A simple Arab of the desert came to the busy city of Baghdad. The busy bustling crowd confused this child of the desert. He longed for rest and sleep, but thought that, if he went to sleep, he would not, on waking up, know himself, so he tied a gourd round his ankle and went to sleep. A man, who had heard him express his doubts, quietly took the gourd from the ankle of the sleeping man and fastened it on his own, and then also laid down to sleep, but

By and by the Arab waking,
Looks directly for his signal,
Sees it on another's ankle,

Cries aloud, ' Oh good-for-nothing
 Rascal to perplex me so !
 That by you I am bewildered,
 Whether I be I or no !
 If I—the pumpkin why on you ?
 If you—then where am I and who ?'

After this serious and this comic introduction the story begins. A king had a wise counsellor who guided him in all matters of state-craft with so much skill that the rule of the Sháh extended to the Koh-i-káf, the limits of the then known world. Far and wide went the mandate of the Sháh, and none dared to disobey his behest, but notwithstanding all this power and glory the heart of the Sháh was sad. He had no son and heir. He called for his counsellor, known as the Sage, and confided to him his intense desire for a son ; but the Sage pointed out that all the advantages of a son so eloquently described by the Sháh relate to a *good* son, but, as *bad* sons are not unknown, his advice is that the Sháh should not trouble about it.

The Sháh retained his desire, and lo ! from darkness came a child to light, a child formed in no carnal mould. His name was Salámán.¹ As he had no earthly mother, a young and beautiful nurse, Absál by name, tended him with loving care till he reached the age of fourteen. As a lad he excelled in all manly exercises, was skilful with the lyre, melodious in song, and played to perfection the chess² of social intercourse. Meanwhile Absál looks with desire upon the beauty of the lad whom

¹ A compound of Salámat (peace) and Asmán (heaven), for he brought the peace of Paradise to his father.

² Metaphors and similes drawn from the game of chess are constantly used by Persian poets.

she had cared for and tended. At length he falls a victim to her blandishment. The Sháh and the Sage are sorely grieved. The father bids the boy ride, hunt, fight, do anything except submit 'to be slain by the arrow eye of a gazelle.' The Sage next tried to reason with the lad. But to his entreaties and to those of his father Salámán turned a deaf ear, and, being unable to meet the arguments of the Sage, he placed Absál on a fleet camel, and mounted by her side stole away. Six days and nights they hurried on, till their further flight was arrested by a mighty sea. The lovers felt that safety was only to be secured on the other side, and to attain this end they constructed a skiff of scented wood and launched upon the deep. At length, they reached an island, rich in flowers and fruit, and in birds of varied plumage and sweet of song. Salámán now found rest. All thought of journeying onward passed away and both gave themselves up to full enjoyment.

All this time the Sháh had mourned for the flight of his son. He changed his 'royal robe for ashes, and his throne for dust.' All search for the fugitives failed. Then from his secret art the Sage vizier made a magic mirror. The Sháh looked upon the mirror and saw in the far distant isle his darling entranced by the charms of the beautiful Absál. Days passed by and still the Sháh beheld his son now in the woman lost, and the crown that should adorn his head trampled under by a base desire.

The Sháh now lost all patience, and brought all the power of his will to bear on the young prodigal.

Then Salámán in agony and despair turned and saw his father's arm ready to rescue him from his fate. But the attractions of Absál were still too strong. Again he leaves his home and flees with the partner of his faults and follies. This time it is not to an earthly paradise, but to the solitude of desolation—a wilderness of death. Sad and weary they construct a funeral pile, apply a light and leap into the flame.

But the Sage
In secret all had order'd, and the flame
Directed by his self-fulfilling will,
Devouring her to ashes, left untouched
Salámán—all the baser metal burn'd,
And to itself the authentic gold return'd.

Salámán now stood alone in his individuality, but that utter loneliness was maddening, his sighs rose up like smoke to heaven. Then the Sage, exercising his magic will, raised a phantom of Absál which appeared for a while and then passed into oblivion. The sight recalled Salámán to himself and again the flame of love was kindled. The Sage saw this and described in glowing terms the lovely Zuhrah (Venus), a very star of beauty, to whom Absál and all such worldly creatures were but as the glimmer of a taper. Salámán listened and, as he listened, Zuhrah in all her glorious beauty stood beside him, and then for ever blotted Absál's image from his breast. Thus he left that which was earthly, and let it go for the eternal love, which he at last had found. Great were now the rejoicings in the Court of the Sháh. Kings and Princes, Amírs, and Nobles, all from far and near obeyed the call of their sovereign

lord the Sháh, and came to do obeisance to the son lost and found, the heir to the golden crown and throne of gold.

This is a bare outline of the tale, after the relation of which the poet proceeds to supply 'the key to unlock the cabinet of meaning.' The Creator of the universe created ten Intelligences. Salámán is the soul made of pure spirit, which, however, requires for its outward garb a body. This is Absál.

These, in such a bond
United, which God alone can divide,
As lovers in this tale are signified.

The island is the 'world of being,' in which the soul remains apart from God. Salámán in this external world found no permanent joy. Then the Sage calls up a phantom Absál and shows to Salámán that it is purer and better for him than the companion of his existence in the world of sense. Then all mortal love, all desire for phenomenal existence passes away, and Salámán reigns one with the First Intelligence. • ♪

The point of the allegory is that Salámán returns not to the 'Incomparable Creator,' but to that which He created, 'the First Intelligence.'¹ It is certainly to this, and not to the Creator to which Jámí makes Salámán return. The Muslim idea of God is that of a pitiless fate—a God afar off. Súfíism is an attempt of the human mind to bridge over this gulf. This First Intelligence, or Primal Element, is represented as a manifestation of God, a means by which other created beings are formed.

¹ Ten Intelligences were created and Whinfield says, 'The Gnostic Ænos were probably the prototypes of the Súfí Ten Intelligences' *Lawá'ih*, p. 65.

The question then arises, whether all allusions in the Ṣúfí poets to the absorption of the soul in a superior being mean re-union with God, or with some manifestation of God. The Qur'án says plainly enough 'From Him was the origin and to Him is the return.'¹ Jámí might reply that 'Him' here means God as manifested in the First Intelligence, by which He, the Sháh of the allegory, created the worlds and through which He executes His decrees. If Jámí's exposition of Ṣúfí doctrine is correct, it makes even the most spiritual aspect of Islām dark and dreary, for it shows us how men, apparently longing for a closer communion with God, fell short of the mark; how even to them He is still 'sterile in His inaccessible height,' satisfied to let them feel that they can never be more than slaves, that nearness to Him is impossible. They felt the need of some intermediary, they found it in a revival of the old Gnostic notions of the Æons, forms of manifestation of the Ineffable and Incomprehensible. 'From this incomprehensible essence of God an immediate transition to finite things is not conceivable. Self-limitation is the first beginning of a communication of life on the part of God, the first passing of the hidden Deity into manifestation, and from this proceeds all further self-developing manifestation of the divine essence.'² All this, to which the Ṣúfí would subscribe, shows how much Ṣúfíism owes to Gnosticism. The true

¹ Súratu Yúnas x. 4. Plotinus, a mystic who lived in the third century A.D., said, 'That man's duty was to return to the One. The motive for the return was the love of the divine spark in his soul for its source.' *Lawá'ih*, p. 67.

² Neander, *Church History*, vol. ii, p. 11.

antidote for both is a faith in great historical facts, on which the religious convictions of all men alike can depend.

The Ṣúfí, being a Muslim, was too proud to search into the true historical facts of the Christian religion, or he would then have found just what would have met his case and satisfied his soul—God manifested, not in some intangible principle, but in a living person, in One who ‘is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature. For by Him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by Him and for Him, and He is before all things, and by Him all things consist’ (Colos. i. 15–17). Those in whom His spirit dwells are His spiritual body. Thus, do they even now become joined to Him, as the branches are in the vine. They are one in life, one in purpose; but, preserving now and evermore a conscious existence, are prepared to enjoy throughout time and eternity communion with one who is very God of very God. To such a conception the Ṣúfí never attained, for conscious union with God to him seemed hopeless, and repudiating altogether the true meaning of the Incarnation of the Son of God, his only aspiration was to become extinct in the Primal Intelligence, the goal of all his efforts.

He failed to realize the higher truth which inspires the Christian poet:—

That each who seems a separate whole,
Should move his rounds, and fusing all
The skirts of self again, should fall
Remerging in the general soul,

Is faith as vague as all unsweet.
 Eternal form shall still divide
 The eternal soul from all beside,
 And I shall know him when we meet.¹

There is much that is sublime in the idea of the search after life and truth; but Šúfíism ends in utter negation of all separate existence. Pantheistic in creed, and too often antinomian in practice, it possesses no regenerative power. When man's apparent individuality is looked upon as a delusion, there seems to remain no room for will or conscience. 'The spiritualism of the Šúfís, though it seems the contrary of materialism, is really identical with it; but if their doctrine is not more reasonable, it is, at least, more thoughtful.'²

'Though the Šúfí saints may be our forerunners on the way to God, it yet remains that only as dominated by specially Christian convictions can mysticism bring to us an inwardness, which carries with it no peril of delusion, a spirituality, which does not menace our ethical life, and an absorption in the Divine, which does not destroy the sacredness of our personality and the reality of our freedom.'³

The orthodox Sunnī objections to Šúfíism were greatly removed by the teaching and writings of Al-Ghazálí (born A.H. 1051). In a modified form he introduced it into Sunnī theology. 'At the same time he reduced Šúfíism to a scientific form, and gave, or rather supported, a terminology derived

¹ Tennyson, *In Memoriam*.

² Garcin de Tassy, *Poesie Philosophique et Religieuse chez les Persans*, p. 2.

³ Hernan, *The Meaning and Value of Mysticism*, p. 371.

from Plotinus. Such a Šúfíism may be described as Muslim mystic theology purged of its Shi'ite accretions. The admission of a modified Šúfíism into the orthodox church of Islám took place in the sixth century A.H.¹

¹ O'Leary, *Arabic Thought and Its Place in History*, p. 204. On Ghazálí's work, see De Boer, *Philosophy in Islám*, pp. 155-68.

THE SHÍ'AHS¹

'ALÍ, the cousin of the Prophet and by his marriage with Fátima his son-in-law, was much beloved by Muḥammad. He was one of the earliest converts to Islám. His personal devotion to his master was great and only equalled by the courage which he showed in the warlike contests during the Prophet's career at Madína. He was the last of the four Rightly-guided Khalífas, the Khulafa'u'r-Ráshidún. He was much more successful as a follower than as a leader. His Khalífate² was a failure, for he lacked the qualities essential in a ruler in those troublous times; but the Prophet's love for him stood him in good stead and, though his promotion to the office of Khalífa was delayed for a time, it came at last. Muḥammad used to say, 'I and 'Alí are of one stock; 'Alí is a part of me and I of him.' 'He whose friend I have been, 'Alí is also his friend.' 'Thou art my brother in this world and the next.' 'To look upon 'Alí is devotion.' 'I am the city, 'Alí is the gate.' The Jarúdiyya sect say that the Prophet 'designated 'Alí by his characteristics, but not by his name.'³ The Khalífa 'Umar valued his judicial opinions and 'Ayísha

¹ The word Shí'ah means a party or following of 'Alí, so the full name would be Shí'ah Ahl'n'l-Bayt, or followers of the House, that is, of the family of the Prophet.

² The correct term is Khilāfat, but I use the one more commonly known to the English reader.

³ *Al-Farq bain al-Firāq*, p. 22.

declared that no one equalled him in the knowledge of the Sunna, the oral law of faith and practice based on the traditional sayings and actions of the Prophet. In Súratu'n-Najm liii. 1 it is said of Muḥammad that 'he erreth not, nor is he led astray.' The Shí'ahs say that this shows that in his affection for and preference of 'Alí he did not err, but was divinely guided.

'Alí failed to punish the murderers of his predecessor, the Khalífa 'Uthmán, and so alienated a large number of people. He also ~~foribly~~ dismissed many of 'Uthmán's officials, amongst whom was Mu'áwiyya, who held a high command in Syria, to which he had been appointed by the Khalífa 'Umar. This action was not approved of by the friends of 'Alí, who feared that trouble would come of it; but 'Alí was obstinate and, perhaps he remembered that Mu'áwiyya was the son of Abú Sufyán, a determined opponent of the Prophet. Ibn 'Abbás warned 'Alí that his opposition to Mu'áwiyya would lead people to consider that he had connived at the murder of 'Uthmán, whose assassins he had failed to punish. The result of this weakness was that a civil war broke out and 'Alí was defeated. After the battle of Siffin (A.D. 657), by a very clever trick on the part of the partisans of Mu'áwiyya, the respective claims were submitted to arbitration and the decree went against 'Alí, who properly refused to accept the decision. A division then arose amongst the partisans of 'Alí. One party, the Khárijites, who now deserted the cause of 'Alí, held to the theory that the Khalífate was not hereditary, but that the believers could

elect and depose Khalífas;¹ the other party was loyal to 'Alí and the hereditary principle. This dynastic conception is a cardinal dogma amongst the Shí'ahs to the present day. Mu'áwiyya at Damascus was saluted as Khalífa. 'Alí and his friends declined to acknowledge him and so there were now two rival Khalífas, the one (Mu'áwiyya) cursed in all the mosques of 'Iráq: the other ('Alí) in all the mosques of Syria. 'Alí was assassinated in a mosque at Kúfa on January 24, A.D. 661. Thus passed away one of the early converts to Islám, the beloved son-in-law of the Prophet. The troubles through which he passed and his striking personality have contributed to make his name revered, and his memory kept fresh by many millions of faithful Shí'ahs even to this day. His fame, however, does not rest on his statesmanship, but arises from the fact that the Shí'ah system is derived from him as its head. A curious thing about it is that one, so predominately an Arab, should in after years find his strongest supporters amongst the Persians whose dislike of the Arabs was so great.

'Alí's eldest son, Hasan,² made a formal renunciation of the Khalífate and took an oath of allegiance to Mu'áwiyya, who, however, did not feel safe so long as the eldest son of 'Alí was alive. So,

¹ This is contrary to the doctrine of orthodox Islám. 'The dignity of the Imámet does not absolutely demand that the Imám be just, virtuous or irreproachable, or that he be the most eminent and the most excellent of the human beings of the time.' (*Multeka*, a Turkish Law Code, quoted by D'Ohsson i, p. 271). 'Vices or tyranny in an Imám do not demand his deposition' (Op. cit. p. 288). The above extracts are taken from Lyber, *The Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleyman*, p. 165.

² Much later on the descendants of his son Muḥammad became Sharífs of Morocco,

according to the Shí'ah historians, he caused him to be put to death by poison.

Yazíd the son of Mu'áwiyya became the next Khalífa; but the men of Kúfa were scandalized by his riotous living, and so they turned to Husayn, another son of 'Alí, then residing quietly at Mecca and urged him to take up arms against Yazíd. His friends urged him not to place any confidence in the promised support from the fickle people of Kúfa.¹ These fears were justified; the Kúfans gave no aid when war was declared, and the result was a crushing defeat and the sad death of Husayn. His end was very tragic. The small band of faithful followers was slain. Husayn sat down; his little son was running around him. The enemy, though longing for his death, for a while were restrained by a superstitious awe; no one ventured to rush in and slay the grandson of the Prophet. Then a chance arrow pierced the child's ear and he died. Husayn placed the corpse on the ground and said, 'We came from God and return to him. O God, give me strength to bear these misfortunes.' Another arrow then struck him, and seeing this the enemy rushed upon him and put him to death.

The action of Yazíd in causing Husayn to be thus slain was a great political blunder.² It not

¹ They were remarkable for perfidy and stinginess. A proverb says, 'More stingy than a Kúfite and more perfidious.' Al-Baghdádí, *Al-Farq bain al-Firâq*, p. 27.

² There is a famous fatva given by Al-Ghazali on the death of Husayn. He was asked whether a person who cursed Yazíd was a reprobate? Had Yazíd the intention of slaying Husayn, or was it done in self-defence? The answer, given at great length, was that it was quite wrong to curse Yazíd, who was not personally responsible for the death of Husayn. The fatva, taken from Ibn Khallikan's *Biographical Dictionary* (Stane's ed.), vol. ii, pp. 230-2, is printed in full in Osborn's *Islâm under the Arabs*, pp. 127-8.

only alienated those who had a high regard for the family of the Prophet; but it also stirred up the enthusiasm of the followers of 'Alí, and evoked, even in the hitherto lukewarm, deep emotion and frantic grief. The plain of Karbalá is now a place of sacred pilgrimage to pious Shí'ahs, and the sad event which took place there is kept alive in their memories by the annual celebration of the Muharram. 'Who,' says Sir William Muir,¹ 'that has seen the wild and passionate grief with which at each recurring anniversary the Muslims of every land spend the life long night, beating their breasts and vociferating unweariedly the frantic cry Hasan, Husayn! Hasan, Husayn! in wailing cadence, can fail to recognize the fatal weapon, sharp and double-edged, which the Umayyad dynasty allowed thus to fall into the hands of its enemies.' The schism was now complete and the rent thus made in the Muslim world had never since been healed.

This tragic event led, if not to the inception of the idea, at least, to the development of the dogma of the divine Imámat, which from henceforth could only be exercised by a member of 'Alí's family. This doctrine now established was used with great effect for political purposes by the 'Abbásid Khalífas, and the 'Alids in their opposition to the Umayyad Khalífas. It led to the establishment of the Fátimid Khalífate in Egypt and was the real basis of the 'Cult of 'Alí,' which has had such far-reaching effects in the Eastern world.

Many Shí'ah traditions have been handed down about 'Alí and his family. Muḥammad is reported

¹ Muir, *Caliphate*, p. 324.

to have said about Husayn 'He will die for the sake of my people.' Just before going forth on his last fatal journey, standing by the grave of the Prophet, Husayn said, 'How can I forget thy people, since I am going to offer myself for their sake?' The Shí'ahs believe that, even if at the Judgement Day the intercession of the Prophet should fail, the intercession of Husayn will be successful. Then the Prophet will say to him, 'Go thou and deliver from the flames everyone, who has in his lifetime shed but a single tear for thee; every one who has in any way helped thee; every one who has performed a pilgrimage to thy shrine, or has mourned for thee.' It is on such traditions Shí'ah divines base the doctrine that the death of Husayn is an atonement (kaffára) for the sins of those who believe in his divine right to the Khalfate. 'To the Persian Shí'a, therefore, Husayn occupies the same position that Jesus Christ does to the devout Christian, notwithstanding the fact that the doctrine of the Atonement is utterly foreign to the original spirit of Islám.'¹

This idealizing of what, as a matter of sober fact, was the result of a tribal feud seems to show that the hard and fast system of orthodox Islám failed to find a ready response in many minds. It has been well said that 'the death of Husayn, as idealized in after ages, fills up a want in Islám; it is the womanly as against the masculine, the Christian as opposed to the Jewish element, that this story supplies to the work of Muḥammad.' Starting off

¹ Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p. 187.

with a political quarrel, the Shí'ahs has travelled into a distant religious position of their own. The fundamental tenet of the Shí'ah sect is the 'divine right of 'Alí, the chosen and his descendants.'¹ The chief duty of religion is devotion to the Imám, or Pontiff, of the sect, from which position many curious dogmas issue.

Before, however, considering these, we must give a brief account of the Imáms who succeeded Husayn and 'Alí, making with them the company known as the Ithna 'Ashariyya or Twelve Imáms.

Imám Zaynu'l-'Abidín (ornament of the pious) was chosen to succeed Husayn.² His mother was a daughter of the king of Persia, and so the Persian people had a great affection for him; they also held strongly to the idea of Divine Right, and rejected the idea of a popular and democratic election, natural to the Arabs. He died in the year A.D. 95 at the age of fifty-seven. It is said that he was poisoned by the order of the Khalífa 'Abdu'l-Málik.³ He was looked upon as a very devout man, for it is said that he made 1000 rak'ata⁴ in the space of a day and night. He had a mosque in his own house and at midnight used to arise and pray thus: 'O thou Cherisher of the poor, anxiety about rising and standing before Thee did not allow me to spread the carpet of rest or to sleep.' Shí'ah

¹ As a matter of fact the Prophet did not nominate his successor. Abú Bakr and 'Umar were elected by the people to the office of Khalífa.

² A few Shí'ahs support the claim of Muḥammad ibnu'l-Ḥanafiyya the son of another wife of 'Alí. The sect did not last long, for this son was not descended in the direct line from the Prophet.

³ *Sahifatu'l-'Abidín*, p. 85.

⁴ A rak'at is the prostration made after a number of verses have been recited in the Namáz, the stated prayers.

historians often exaggerate the virtues of their heroes and idealize them, but, allowing for this, it is evident that Zaynu'l-'Abidín was a man of studious attainments, of simple life, upright in conduct, wise in counsel and justly held in high veneration by his followers. During his last illness, when suffering from the effects of poison, he prayed and thanked God who had given him a heritage in heaven, saying, 'How good is His reward to those who do good deeds.' With these words of praise his spirit passed away. At this time the Shí'ahs were bitterly oppressed by the Umayyad Khalífas and many were put to death.

Zaynu'l-'Abidín's son, Muḥammad, succeeded his father. He was called Al-Bákir (the Ample), because he collected an ample fund of knowledge, or because he split open knowledge, that is, he examined it minutely and probed it to its foundations. Zayd, a grandson of Ḥusayn claimed the Imámat and tried to obtain the aid of the Khalífa Hishám, but only gained permission to send Al-Bákir a saddle as a present; in which in some way he caused poison to be placed. The Imám went for a ride and soon after died from the effect of the poison (A.D. 143). A small company of the Shí'ahs broke away and recognized Zayd as their head. They claimed that the Imámat was elective and not hereditary. They are known as the Zaydites. They settled in Yemen. Zayd refused to curse Abú Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmán, saying ~~that they were Viziers of the Prophet.~~ Some of his followers protested against his conduct in this respect, and formed a fresh and very intolerant

sect called the Rafidís,¹ a name sometimes applied to the Shí'ahs generally by their opponents. Zayd is said to have been poisoned by the Khalífa Hishám. The Zaydiyya Imámat passed on to Idrís who founded a dynasty in Morocco which ignored the authority of the Sunní Khalífas.

Al-Bákir's son, became the next Imám and is known as Al-Ja'far aṣ-Ṣádiq. Through his mother he was a descendant of the Khalífa Abú Bakr. The Umayyad Khalífate was now coming to an end. A descendant of 'Abbás, an uncle of the Prophet, claimed the right to the Khalífate. The Shí'ahs were won over by the representation that the Umayyads had persecuted them, and that the Khalífate rightly belonged to the family of Muḥammad and the 'men of the House.' This ambiguous term included both 'Abbásids and 'Alids and deceived the latter, who naturally thought that the claims of their Imáms would be respected. In the battle of the Záb (A.D. 750) the Umayyads were beaten. The Khalífa Marwán fled to Egypt, but was there slain by his enemies. The 'Abbásids having now gained the victory founded their Khalífate and paid no further attention to the claims of the Shí'ah Imáms.² The 'Abbásids equally with the Umayyads treated the Shí'ahs as a proscribed sect, for the speculations of the Shí'ahs led them to adopt views entirely opposed to those of the Sunnís, the orthodox Muslims. The treatment the Shí'ahs received no doubt made them troublesome and insurrections

¹ From رَفَدَ, abandoning, leaving.

² For further details see in *Umayyad and 'Abbásid Khalífates*, pp. 7-57, and Zaydan's *Umayyad and 'Abbásids*, p. 146.

took its rise. The later 'Abbásid Khalífas were friendly to the Shí'ahs and it was in the reign of Al-Muṭi' (A.D. 946) that the society known as the Ikhwánu's-Ṣafá, Brethren of Purity, was formed.

Thus arose the now famous sect of the Isma'ílians, the political influence of which in after years in Egypt became so strong that it was able to overturn the Sunní Khalífate and to establish in its place a Shí'ah one, known as the Fátimid Khalífate, a dynasty so called from the descent of its rulers from 'Alí and Fátima, the daughter of the Prophet.

The Isma'ílians say that the prophets possessed the gift of revelation; the Imáms that of interpretation, so it must be to them that men should look for guidance. They also say that now commenced what is called the succession of the 'concealed Imáms,' that is, the concealment took place long before the time of the twelfth Imám, Al-Mahdí. They also believe that there never will be a time when the world will be without an Imám, though he is not always visible. Sometimes he manifests himself, but usually he lives in seclusion. It is then that the work of the missionaries (Dá'ís) of the sect begins. This idea of the seclusion of the Imám has given rise to a number of secret societies, and paved the way for a mystical religion, which often lands its votaries in atheism. It has also given opportunity for pretenders, such as the Mahdí of the Súdán in recent times, to arise and claim the office and authority of the Imám, now they say, no longer in seclusion.

Imám Músá Kázim, the son of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣádiq, received this title of Kázim, which means 'one who

Al-Faḍl. Imám ar-Riḍa is described by Shí'ahs as a kindly man, full of sympathy with his persecuted followers, generous to the poor and a strict observer of all ritual religious observances.

Imám Taqí is the title of Ar-Riḍa's son Muḥammad who now became Imám. He was called Jawwád, the generous ; the Taqí, the pious. The Khalífa Ma'mún took a fancy to him and admired his learning and culture. He gave him his daughter, Ummu'l-Faḍl, in marriage, but the union was not a happy one. His wife made frequent and unjust complaints against him to her father, who at first would not listen to her. At last she concocted a story about her husband's adultery which roused the wrath of Ma'mún who tried unsuccessfully to murder Taqí. Finally the usual result followed and the Imám died of poison, the administration of which had become a fine art in Baghdad. Thus passed away, at the early age of twenty-four, another victim to the political jealousies of the age and the timid fears of the Khalífa. Taqí was a modest man, for, though a son-in-law of the Khalífa, he gave himself no airs and never boasted of his position. He was friendly with all comers and lived a simple, frugal life.

Imám Naqí was only six years old when his father Imám Taqí died. He became famous as a teacher and men came from far and near to profit by his instruction. He also performed the duties of his office as Imám to the satisfaction of all concerned with it. The Khalífa Mutawakkil, being prejudiced against him, invited him to pay a visit to his court. Naqí did not wish to go, but, as the

buried near his father's grave at Sámarrá. Glowing accounts are given of the high moral qualities, of the patience under persecution, of the learning and piety of Imám 'Askarí.

We now come to the last Imám, Al-Mahdí, who was born A.D. 860. He was surnamed Al-Muntazir (the Expected) Hujjatu'lláh (Proof of God); Imámu'z-Zaman (Imám of the Age); Al-Mahdí (the Guided). The last title is the one by which he was generally known. It implies that he was able to guide others, being himself guided by God. So many marvels attended his birth that he was believed to be the very promised Mahdí. It is said that when he was born, the words, 'Truth is come and falsehood is banished' (Súratu Baní Isrá'íl xvii. 83) were found written on his arm. For his safety he was kept in strict seclusion,¹ and only a few trusted friends were allowed to see him, for it was feared that, if the Khalífa heard of the marvels attending his birth, he might be alarmed and cause trouble. This period of seclusion is called the Minor Occultation (Ghaybatu's-Sughra). It lasted for sixty years, and was then followed by the Major Occultation (Ghaybatu'l-Kubra), which commenced in A.D. 940. To the friends who visited him he made known his plans and wishes. They are called the Abwáb (doors) through whom he held communication with the outer world. Thus, though in seclusion, he duly performed the duties of his office. The Khalífa Mu'tamid imprisoned the Imám's mother for six months, and so intimidated

¹ According to Ibn Khallikán (ii. 581) he entered into a cistern in his father's house and never came out again.

has failed to close.¹ The story of the martyrs, as told in the 'Ashúr Khánas in the annual celebration of Muḥarram in many lands now calls forth the deepest emotion of Shí'ah Muslims.² These Imáms are regarded as God's Apostles, inspired with the divine spirit, immaculate in life and conduct and honoured as great religious leaders in their day, and saintly teachers for all time. 'The Imám of the Shí'ahs is the divinely ordained successor of the Prophet, endowed with all perfections and spiritual gifts; one whom all the faithful must follow, whose decree is absolute and final, whose wisdom is superhuman and whose words are authoritative.'³

We shall see in the chapter on the Qur'án the attitude of the Shí'ahs to the early recensions of that book. Meanwhile we may notice a few alleged omissions of words favourable to the claims of 'Alí. I print them in italics. 'But God is Himself witness of what He hath sent down to thee *concerning 'Alí*' (Súratu'n-Nisá' iv. 164). 'O Apostle proclaim all that hath been sent down to thee from the Lord *concerning 'Alí*' (Súratu'l-Ma'ída v. 71). 'But those who treat them, *the family of Muḥammad and their rights*, unjustly shall know what a lot awaiteth them' (Súratu'sh-Shu'ará' xxvi. 228). The Shí'ahs rely on a different reading of the verse 'Ye

¹ 'No one has been able to effect an appeasement between these two great divisions of Islám, and a more tolerant attitude in the younger generation of Persians, so far as it exists, is due rather to a growing indifference to Islám itself, than to a religious reconciliation' Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p. 420.

² See the *Faith of Islám* (4th ed.), pp. 418-24.

³ *Episode of the Báb*, p. 296. For a curious account of the qualities possessed by the Imáms, see *Journal Asiatique* Quatrienne Série, Tome iii, p. 398 and for the connection of the Imám with a prophet, see *RASJ*, July 1899, p. 633.

and 'Uthmán heard the words, they enquired whether Imám here referred to the Taurat, the Gospel or the Qur'án. The Prophet said it did not, but that 'Alí was the 'clear Imám,' to whom God had given the knowledge of all things. According to a tradition (ḥadīth) the Prophet said, 'Whatever knowledge God has given to me, I have taught to 'Alí.'¹ But the greatest change of all is the alleged omission of an entire Súra, the Súratu'n-Núrain, the chapter of the two lights, that is, Muḥammad and 'Alí.

The mystic lore connected with the doctrine of the Imámat has often sapped the foundation of moral life and vigour. A system of religious reservation is also a fundamental part in the system in its mystical developments, whilst all Shí'ahs may lawfully practice taqiyya, or religious compromise, in their daily lives. Pious frauds are legalized.² Taqiyya and the legality of Mut'a, or temporary marriages, are ~~two~~ ^{the} points in the whole Shí'ah system.³

¹ The Shí'ah *Tafsír* of Maqbúl Aḥmad, vol. ii, p. 703.

² The validity of taqiyya is based on the verse, 'Let not believers take infidels for their friends rather than believers; whoso shall do this shall have nothing to hope from God—unless, indeed, ye fear a fear from them' (Súratu 'Alí 'Imrán iii. 27). Baiḍáwí (i. 151) says that the Qārí Ya'qúb reads taqiyyatan (تَقِيَّةً) for the word tuqátan (تَوَقَّاتًا) in the text, and that, therefore, the meaning is that alliance with unbelievers is forbidden, except in time of danger, when an *ostensible* alliance is permitted. The Sunní commentator Ḥusayn (ii. 65) states that this authorized taqiyya in the early days of Islám, but that now it is only permissible in a Dáru'l-Ḥarb, that is, a land where Jihád is lawful. The Shí'ahs consider that it is allowable everywhere and at all times. There is a Shí'ah tradition: 'Concealment of religious opinions is my religion and the religion of my fathers' (al-taqíyatu dīni wa dīnu ábū'i). Imám Ja'far Šádiq said, 'He who denies taqiyya is without faith.' Sayyid Maqbúl Aḥmad's *Tafsír*, vol. i, p. 83.

³ Mut'a is said to be authorized in the verse 'It shall be no crime in you to make engagements over and above the law' (Súratu'n-Nisá'

body of Muhammad. This light descended to 'Alí and from him passed on to the true Imáms, who alone are the lawful successors of the Prophet.¹ A tradition recorded by 'Alí refers to Muhammad's words to him thus, 'Thou art the elect, the chosen, I will make the members of thy family the guides to salvation. I will place in thee my light and the treasures of my grace; for thy sake I make the waters to flow, exalt the heavens, distribute rewards and punishments and create heaven and hell. I reveal to thy family the secrets of knowledge, and to them shall there be no subtlety nor mystery. They will be the apostles of my power and unity.' Such was to be the work of the Imáms, the successors of 'Alí in the Imámat. Rebellion against them is sin, devotion to them the very essence of religion. It is said that the Imámat is a light (núr) which passes from one Imám to the others and becomes prophetship, so the Imáms are considered to be divinely inspired prophets. Some commentators say that the word light, in the verse 'Now hath a light and a clear book come to you from God' (Súratu'l-Má'ida v. 18), means the Núr-i-Muhammadi, others that it refers to the Qur'án. The whole idea of the núr seems, however, to have been borrowed from Zoroastrian sources, and to have been originally connected with Jamshid.²

The Imám is the divinely-ordained successor of the Prophet, adorned with all his qualities. He is

¹ It is said that the only difference between the light of Muhammad and that of 'Alí is that the former is prior in time.

² Tisdall, *Sources of the Qur'án*, pp. 246-51. In the Pahlavi *Minúskhind* and the *Khasáta* a similar account is given of the light of Jamshid. The original text is given in *Yanábí'u'l-Islám*, p. 21...

and in the plural form, the household being, according to the Shí'ahs, Muḥammad, Fátima, 'Alí, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. They also say that the word 'you' refers to the wives of the Prophet, and support this view by stating that the preceding pronouns and the next finite verb 'recollect' are all in the feminine gender.¹

The Shí'ahs were soon divided into two sects,² the Imámíans and the Isma'ílians. The former believe in twelve Imáms, Al-Mahdí being the last. They say that Gabriel came one day with the tablet of decree in his hand, and lo! on it were the names of the twelve Imáms in their proper order of succession. A Jew once said to the Prophet, 'Who will be your heirs and successors?' He replied, 'They agree in number with the twelve tribes of Israel.' The latter sect say that the succession of the 'Concealed Imáms' began after Ja'far Ṣádiq, the sixth Imám.

The Shí'ahs had long been popular in Persia, but it was not until Sháh Isma'íl founded the Ṣafawi dynasty in A.D. 1502 that the Shí'ah religion became the State one in Persia, a position it retains to this day. Sháh Isma'íl was, on his father's side, a descendant of Músá Kázim, the seventh Imám. His early life was not happy, but in due course he gained a following and became the Shí'ah ruler of Persia. He called himself Isma'íl Shaykh Ardebilí Qizil Básh Ithna-'Ashariz, that is, Isma'íl, Restorer of the cap of twelve colours. This is an allusion to

¹ For a full explanation see Baidáwí's *Tafsír*, vol. ii, p. 128.

² Both sects, the Twelvers (Ithná 'Ashariyya) and the Seveners (Sab'iyya), are agreed that the supreme spiritual authority must be exercised by an Imám, a descendant of 'Alí, who is possessed of supernatural and even of divine attributes. The point of difference is the order of the succession of the 'Concealed Imáms.'

means striving, and exerting, and technically the application of all his faculties by a lawyer to the consideration of the authorities on which he bases his judgement' (Sir 'Abdu'r-Rahím). Such a man is called a Mujtahid. The qualifications for this office are very severe and in the opinion of the Sunnís, there has been no Mujtahid of the first class, since the time of the four great founders of the Sunní schools (nadhhabs) of law, that is, since A.D. 825 when the Bábu'l-Ijtihád, or the 'Gate of Endeavour' was closed.¹ The Shí'ahs hold that they still possess Mujtahids, and in Persia now they are still a very important body of men, though, probably, less influential than in the past.² They 'concern themselves with every department of human activity, from the minutest details of personal purification to the largest issues of politics. Their authority is greater than that of the Sunní 'Ulamá', who in their decisions must follow one or other of the four orthodox interpretations (madhhabs) of the Sharí'at. It is open to every Shí'ah Muslim to submit any problem, into

¹ Previous to this it was thought that, as the primary duty of the Khalífa was to see that the Sacred Law (Sharí'at) was observed, he was a Mujtahid who could interpret it with authority.

² They are the interpreters of the Sharí'at or sacred law and their decisions are accepted by the administrators of the 'Urf, or customary law. 'The Sháh acts as the Canonists have recommended, unless the vague distinction between the function of the canon law and the customary law gives him an excuse for exercising his personal authority' (*Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. xi, p. 457). Among the modernists in Islám the old orthodox view of Ijtihád is losing ground. A learned Indian Muslim says, 'We find that the idea of Ijtihád, reinforced and broadened by modern philosophic ideas, has long been working in the religious and political thought of the Turkish nation. . . . We, too, will have to re-evaluate our intellectual inheritance. The claim of the present generation of Moslem liberals to reinterpret the fundamental legal principles in the light of their own experience and the altered condition of modern life is perfectly justified.' Sir Muḥammad Iqbál, quoted in Mott's *The Moslem World of To-day*, pp. 102, 103.

believer and his answers are satisfactory he is left in peace. A passage from his tomb to Paradise is then made, so that the air of that blessed region may sweeten the tomb. If he is an unbeliever, he will be severely beaten till he cries out in agony.¹ On other eschatological subjects the creed does not differ materially from that of the Sunnís.²

¹See *The Faith of Islām* (4th ed.), pp. 235-6.

²There is a difference between the civil law of the Shí'ahs and that of the Sunnís. For a full statement about Shí'ah law, see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islām*, pp. 575-8.

hardy and ready then, as always since, for war at any time, at any place and with any Power which tried to bring them into subjection. At last, exhausted by the conflicts, they sued for peace and Islám spread amongst them. This change of faith did not change their national character. They still hated their Arab rulers and were ready to welcome any allies.¹ In course of time they were joined by the Khárijites,² or Separatists, a sect which separated from 'Alí after the battle of Siffin, and were also opposed to the Umayyad Khalífate. They called themselves Shurát, sellers of their lives for heavenly rewards, like the man described in Súratu'l-Baqara ii. 203 as 'selling his very self out of desire to please God.' Their intense fanaticism, their undoubted courage and their devotion to an ideal were reproduced in the Wahhábís of a later age.

The Berbers were delighted with them. Here were Muslims who hated the governors and viceroys of the Umayyad Khalífas, who were seeking to conquer and control the native people of the land. 'Simple and ignorant they (the Berbers) doubtless understood enough of their (the Khárijites) doctrines to assimilate their revolutionary and democratic principles, to share the fanciful hopes of universal levelling which their teachers aroused, and to be convinced that their oppressors were reprobates whose destiny was hell-fire.'³ When the 'Abbásids

¹ For an interesting statement showing how slight the influence of Islám over the Berber tribes has been and still is, see Toynbee, *The Islámic World*, p. 126.

² Their view was that any free Arab was eligible for the Khalífate, and that a Khalífa, who ceased to give satisfaction, could be deposed by the believers.

³ Dozy, *Spanish Islám*, p. 131.

Isma'īlians and the way in which the Shí'ahs came in for a brief period of power and how the dogma of the Imāmat was still a living creed.

The Isma'īlians claim that after Isma'īl, whom they say was the rightful sixth Imām (ante p. 57), the succession of the concealed Imāms commenced, in contradistinction to the views of the Imāmites (believers in twelve Imāms) that this concealment began with Al-Mahdí. The sect for a long time was only a minor one. The man who brought it into prominence was 'Abdu'lláh ibn Maynún. The father was a prominent member of the extreme section of the Shí'ahs known as the Ghulát. His son 'Abdu'lláh, an oculist by profession and a Persian by race, was one of the most remarkable man of the age. He thought out a plan for making the sect to which he belonged a real power in the world. It was 'to bind together in one association the conquered and the conquerors; to combine in one secret society, wherein there should be several grades of initiation, the free-thinkers, who saw in religion only a curb for the common people, and the bigots of all sorts, to form for himself, in short, a party, numerous, compact, and schooled to obedience, which, when the moment was come, would give the throne, if not to himself, at least to his descendants . . . an idea which, grotesque and audacious though it was, he realized with astonishing tact, incomparable skill, and a perfect knowledge of the human heart.'¹

¹ Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans de l'Espagne*, vol. iii, pp. 8 ff. Rene Dussaud in his *Histoire de Religion des Nosairis* takes a more favourable view of this sect. He says, 'certain excesses rendered these doctrines hateful to orthodox Musalmans, and led them definitely to

Dá'ís was Abú 'Abdi'lláh, often referred to as Abú 'Abdi'lláh, the Shí'ah. He was a learned man, clever in the formation of plans, bold and active in carrying them out. His personality was attractive, and his belief in the manifestation of the Imám, descended from Isma'íl, was profound. At Mecca he met pilgrims from North Africa, who invited him to visit their country. He did so and found the tribe of Kitáma ready to receive his teaching, and to them he declared that he was the messenger of the Mahdí, who would soon come and work many wonders among them. He called the men of this tribe true believers. 'Abdi'lláh's power rapidly grew and he became the leader of a large army. The time was now ripe for the advent of the Mahdí, so word was sent to Sa'íd that the Isma'ílian doctrines were generally accepted and men anxiously looked for the coming of Al-Mahdí. Sa'íd was delighted to get the news. His father had once said to him, 'you are he who will be the Mahdí after my death; you will flee to a distant country, where you will undergo seven trials.' He declared himself to be the great grandson of Muḥammad bin Isma'íl and took the name of Abú Muḥammad 'Ubaydu'lláh and made arrangements to proceed at once to Africa. The Khalífa of Baghdad got news of the intended departure of 'Ubaydu'lláh and sent throughout his empire descriptions of the fugitive with strict orders that he was to be imprisoned. 'Ubaydu'lláh disguised himself as a merchant and, after many narrow escapes, arrived in Egypt; but he was arrested on suspicion by the ruler of a place called Segelmessa and cast into prison. The Dá'í

Khalífas ; a dynasty so called from the descent of these Imáms from 'Alí and Fátima. The succeeding Khalífas had to struggle on against opposition, but gradually they consolidated their power. In A.D. 960 the city of Cairo (Al-Káhira, the Victorious) was founded and the Fátimid rule was firmly established.¹ These great changes, the formation of a rival Shí'ah Khalífate and the establishment of the Shí'ah religion as the official State one in Egypt had been well prepared for by the labours and teaching of the enthusiastic Isma'ílian Dásís, to whose teaching we may now give some attention.

The Isma'ílians are famous for their esoteric views² and for the activity with which they propagated them. One extreme section received the name of Báṭinís, a word which means 'inner,' and is applied to them because they held that there was an inner or esoteric meaning of the Qur'án, that this was of far more importance than positive law, and that the meaning was known only to the initiated. As the Imáms of the Isma'ílians were concealed,

¹ 'Thus had the whirligig of time brought back its revenge and the hunted Shí'ah seated himself as sovereign in the richest province of the Muḥammadan empire. By reason of its influence on the destinies of Europe, this conquest of Egypt by the Fátimid Khalífas is perhaps, so far as the West is concerned, the most important episode in the history of Islám. The disunited provinces of the Baghdad Khalífate were shortly to be welded together in the vast empire of the Seljuks; when, but for the rising of this hostile power in Egypt, the entire weight of the Muḥammadan world would have descended upon the tottering empire of Byzantium and have crushed it. . . . To the Fátimid Khalífas Europe owes that interval of precious time which enabled her to consolidate her nationalities and roll back the tide of Muḥammadan invasion.' Osborn, *Islám under the Arabs*, p. 246.

² Thus they explain the Hajj as a pilgrimage away from sin, and the putting on of the Hájí's robe (ihrám) as the casting aside of all sensual thoughts and feelings, just as one's ordinary clothes are put off when the ihrám is donned. This is the true meaning of the pilgrimage and its robe.

‘What is the meaning of the casting of the pebbles and of the running between Mounts Safá and Marwa? ¹ Why is a woman, who has omitted the fast and the namáz, obliged to keep the fast some other time but not to supply the omission of the prayers? Why did God take seven days to create the world, when he could have done it in an hour? How can it be true that the skin of the damned will be changed into a new skin, or that the new skin which has not taken on the sins of the other shall be tormented in fire?’ ²

Who are Gog and Magog, Hárút and Márút? What are the seven doors of hell and the eight gates of heaven? What is the meaning of the letters, Alif, Lám, Mím, etc., at the beginnings of certain Súras? Why were seven heavens created and why has the first chapter of the Qur’án seven verses? Why did twelve fountains gush forth when Moses struck the rock; why are there twelve months in a year?’ ³

The Dá’í then led on the pupil through the mazes of philosophic speculation; puzzled him with recondite questions with reference to the spiritual and the natural worlds; and on the strength of the text, ‘On earth are signs for men of firm belief and also on your own selves, will ye not then behold them?’ ⁴ declared that it was incumbent on the believer to make great efforts to get at the inner meaning of

¹ These are ceremonies connected with the Hajj. See *The Faith of Islām* (4th ed.), p. 408.

² ‘Those who disbelieve Our signs, We will in the end cast into the fire: so oft as their skins shall be well burnt, We will change them for fresh skins, that they may taste the torment.’—Súratu’n-Nisá’ iv. 59.

³ Súratu’t-Tauba ix. 36.

⁴ Súratu’dh-Dhārayāt li. 20-1.

seven is a sacred one. He was also taught that the Imámities in recognizing twelve Imáms had departed from the true Faith, that only to those who recognized Muḥammad Ḥabíb as the seventh and last Imám would the mysteries of religion be revealed, and to such alone would be made known the exoteric and esoteric doctrine of things.

In the fourth degree he was taught matters of the utmost importance. He learned that the prophets entrusted with the production of new religions were seven in number—Adam, Noah, Abrahám, Moses, Christ, Muḥammad, and, last of all, Muḥammad Ḥabíb, the son of Isma‘íl, in whose person was gathered up and terminated all preceding knowledge—‘Ulúmu’l-Awwalín—a term which may be said to denote the idea that the esoteric meaning of religion was perfectly known to him. As Muḥammad Ḥabíb, then, alone had the key to all mysteries, as in him the cycle of the old faiths with their positive precepts and inculcation of the letter terminated, and as with him began the knowledge of that allegorical significance latent in all the preceding religions, all who would be on the right path should follow him, in other words should become Isma‘ílians. Each prophet had a special companion, called Sús.¹ Thus Adam had Seth; Noah, Shem; Abrahám, Isma‘íl; Moses, Aaron; Jesús, Simon Sufa,² or the pure one; Muḥammad, ‘Alí. The proselyte who passed through this degree ceased to be a Muslim, for he could only attain to it by acknowledging a

¹ سومس the Druses use the form أسامس Asás. The word سومس means source or origin : أسامس is a foundation.

² * Called الطاهر the Pure : it is evidently meant for Cephas.

He only saith "Be" (﴿﴾ and it is."¹ This is the first and the greater of two powers; but the second is found in the words, 'All things have We created after a fixed decree.'² Thus will and necessity form a dualism. The Tablet and the Pen give another illustration. The Pen writes the Qur'ān the Tablet receives it.³ All this pointed to the existence of a dualistic principle in the universe. The object of it all was to destroy belief in Tanhīd, or the Unity.

Then came the eighth degree in which dualism was carried a stage further, and it was said that there were two Beings who rule the world, the one pre-existent to the other and raised above it. The pupil had by this time become completely bewildered and so was prepared for the final stage.

In the ninth degree the neophyte was led on to nihilism. There was no God, no law, no religion.⁴ All who maintained the truth and existence of these things were to be treated as enemies. The universe was eternal.

Such were the methods by which the Isma'īlians, emancipated from the control of a moral law were formed into a fanatical sect, spreading destruction all around.⁵

¹ Sūratu 'Imrān, iii. 42.

² Sūratu'l-Qamar liv. 49.

³ This is the *Lauhul-Mahfūz* on which the decrees of God are written. It is referred to in Sūratu'l-Burūj lxxv. 21-2. "It is a glorious Qur'ān written on the preserved table."

⁴ "Follow Reason and do what it deems good, for it gathers the honey of counsel. And accept not a commandment from the Torah, for verily the Truth is hidden from it." So the Arab poet Ma'amī.

⁵ A very full account of these nine degrees will be found in Silvestre de Sacy's *Exposé de la religion des Druses*, vol. i, pp. lxxv-cxxxviii.

Wahhábís were troubling them; those in Syria do not appear to have exercised any appreciable influence in the recent political affairs of that region, now a mandated territory under French control.

The Arab Sunní Government in Afrikia now came to an end and that of the Shí'ah Khalífate rose into and exercised power. There were fourteen Khalífas of this dynasty, of whom Al-Adíd (A.D. 1160-1171) was the last. The dynasty was brought to an end by the famous warrior statesman, Şaláhu'd-Dín (Honour of the Faith) better known as Saladin. As we are not concerned with the general political history of this Khalífate,¹ I shall only make a few general remarks on it, going rather more into details about the notorious Khalífa Hákím, in whose reign some remarkable religious movements took place, which call for notice.

The Mahdí died in A.D. 934. He had the audacity to withstand the Sunní Khalífa, the head of the Islámic world, an audacity justified by its results, for he founded a dynasty which played an important part in the years to come. Islám had now three chief rulers; one in Baghdad, one in Spain, one in Afrikia. The 'Abbásid Khalífate was drawing to a close. The unity of the Islámic empire was gone, never to return.

Mu'izz, the fourth Khalífa established his power in Egypt and Cairo became (A.D. 973) the residence of the Fátimid Khalífas.² The Berbers now threw

¹ An excellent account is given in O'Leary's, *History of the Fátimid Khalífate*, pp. 49-245; and in Osborn's, *Islám under the Arabs*, pp. 185-236.

² It was now that a literary duel commenced between Egypt and Baghdad on the priority of 'Uba'du'lláh's descent from 'Alí and Fátima, on which the claim of the Fátimid Khalífate rested. Their

decadence of the dynasty set in, and the great empire which Mu'izz and his son had built up gradually fell into decay.

The reign of Hákim (A.D. 996–1021) was one long history of cruel actions.¹ Christians and Jews all incurred his mad anger. Christian priests were flogged to death and churches were destroyed. Christians had to wear, suspended from their necks, a heavy cross. The Jews had to wear black garments, and, when they walked abroad, a piece of wood, carved like a calf's head, was placed on their heads. This was to remind them of the apostasy at Sinai. Hákim's Muslim subjects fared little better. He abolished the namáz, or public prayers, and the khutba, or Friday sermon in the month of Ramadán. He stopped the pilgrimage to Mecca, and the annual sending of the Kiswah, or the covering for the Ka'ba. He set aside the decrees of the Khalífas Abú Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthman, whose memory he denounced and cursed. All this was very trying to good Muslims, but the Fátimid Khalífas, though nominally Muslims, denied the chief doctrines of Islám. Whilst the orthodox held that the Law given by Muḥammad was perfect and final, the Fátimid rulers, on the contrary, held that they themselves were incarnations of the Divine Reason, and that they alone were the interpreters of the inner meaning of the positive precepts of the Law. 'Every positive precept of the Law was an allegorical statement of some unseen verity; and as one pure and universal Reason presided over the spiritual world above, evil was neces-

¹ For a full account, see O'Leary, *The Fátimid Khalífate*, pp. 143–7.

but the opposition was finally put down. The Assassins,¹ as the followers of Ḥasan ibn Ṣabbāḥ were called, were opposed to the claims of the reigning Khalífa and now formed a strong and formidable sect, organized on the traditional lines of the Isma'ílians. They had the same stages of initiation and were equally agnostic in their views. The head of the Highest Grade was the Grand Master, the Dá'í'l-Du'át ; also called the 'Mountain Chief' (Shaykhu'l-Jabal and in Crusading Chronicles 'Le Vieux,' the Old One, and so he was widely known as 'The Old Man of the Mountain.' After wandering about and preaching his doctrines Ḥasan ibn Ṣabbāḥ by a clever ruse² in the year A.D. 1090 obtained possession of the strong mountain fortress of Alamút, known as the 'Eagle's Nest.' The seizure of other fortresses followed and Ḥasan soon obtained great political power, the means which he used being the devotion of the Fidá'ís to his person and their use of the dagger. For thirty-five years, Ḥasan lived in seclusion at Alamút. 'Pitiless and inscrutable as Destiny, he watched the troubled world of Oriental politics, himself invisible, and whenever he perceived a formidable foe, caused a dagger to be driven into his heart. Warriors, statesmen, merchants—he spared none.'³

¹ The etymology of this term has been disputed, and various derivations have been suggested. The most probable one is that it comes from ḥashish, the Indian hemp, or bang. It is largely used now in Eastern lands, but in Ḥasan's day it was not so widely known. One of his confederates, 'Aṭṭāsh, was a physician and may have known how to prepare it. Ḥasan used it in the training of his Fidá'ís. See Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 204-5.

² The stratagem was this : he was allowed to take as much land as a bull's hide would cover, so he cut a hide into many thin strips and surrounded the site of the fortress with them.

³ Osborn, *Islām Under the Khalifs of Baghdad*, p. 343.

coming to consciousness he found himself in a palace. Then he received instructions and was told that the faithful performance of the Master's will would ensure his entrance again to Paradise. 'Go,' said the Master, and 'slay so and so, and when thou returnest, my angels shall bear thee into Paradise.' He was assured that, even if he himself was killed, angels would carry him there, and so he would for ever enjoy the pleasures of which he had already enjoyed a foretaste.

In common with the whole body of the Isma'īlians, the leaders of this section of them taught that the universal Reason by which God created the world was in reality God incarnate. The first thing created was the universal Soul the attribute of which is life, just as the attribute of Reason is knowledge. The Universal Soul requires something in which to manifest itself and rise to the level of Universal Reason. So primary Matter was brought into existence and man appeared and individual souls came into existence. How are the two great powers of the upper world, universal Soul and universal Reason, to be made manifest in this lower one? The Active Intellect was formed to enter into the individual soul. Then the Soul and the Reason of the upper world can enter into human souls. But some individual person has to be selected for this special manifestation in a human person. In the person so selected Divine Reason and the universal Soul¹ incarnate themselves. Now the universal Reason is immortal; man is not; so the Reason

¹ This Reason is the Nātiq, one who speaks, that is, a prophet; the incarnate Soul is one who interprets, or makes known and interprets and investigates the Divine words and actions.

imagination to associate their present pontiff, the genial and polished Aghá Khán, with the redoubtable Grand Master of Alamút, and the Old man of the Mountain. ¹

We have now seen into what strange ways, the Shí'ah doctrine of the Imámat developed itself in the form of Isma'ílianism and its offshoots. Another development is found in the extreme section of the Isma'ílians known as the Carmathians. They are so called from the name of a Dá'í nicknamed Qarmat, on account of his short body and legs. He was the chief propagandist of the sect. For a time they caused great trouble in Arabia and elsewhere. In A.D. 925 they attacked the pilgrim caravan and in the following year entered Mecca and carried off the Sacred Black Stone (hajaru'l-aswad), which is kissed by the pilgrims as an act of devotion. They kept it for twenty years, thus shocking all orthodox Muslims. Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghazna severely punished them. As a sect they passed away in time, and we need not pursue their history further.

Perhaps the most remarkable movement in Al-Hákim's time is the rise of the sect of the Druses. Now a leading Dá'í, a Persian named Muḥammad ibn Isma'íl Darází,² of the Báṭini section of the Isma'ílians encouraged the Khalífa in his pretensions to divinity. He led him to believe that he was an incarnation of the Deity, and that the Divine Spirit, which God has breathed into Adam, had descended through a long line of prophets to 'Alí and from

¹ Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 460.

² The plural form of Darází is Dúruz, from which the European form Druses is derived.

chief one being Universal Intelligence, ¹ the name given to Hamza, from whom all knowledge emanates. The Druses believe in the transmigration of souls. Their reappearance in different forms is connected with the good or the evil deeds committed in a former life. After the death of Hákim, the people were told to look for his return, when with the aid of Hamza he would overcome all opposition and be universally adored. Previous religions introduced by Nátíqs (prophets), being exoteric beliefs, are known as Tanzíl now; but each Nátíq before his death nominated a special companion, called a Sús, who will give the esoteric meaning (Tawíl) of the religion founded by his master, Hákim declared that the only sound interpreter of religion was Hamza and quoted the verse, 'We have recorded everything in a clear writing.' ² The chief article in the creed is to believe in the divinity of Hákim. They believe that he voluntarily disappeared in sorrow, leaving a world not worthy of him and that, though now in concealment, he will return when the world is ready for him. Such, in brief, is the religion of the Druses, a curious offshoot of the cult of 'Alí and of the dogma of the Imámat. It is a strange mixture of fanaticism and folly, not without some redeeming features in the practical duties of

¹ According to the tradition 'The first thing God created was intelligence اول ما خلق الله العقل

² Súratu Yá Sín xxxvi. 11. The Arabic for clear writing is (Imám Mubín). The Druses say that it is Hamza, and for its application to a living person they have Shí'ah authority. Sayyid Kaqbúl Ahmad in his Shí'ah commentary (vol. ii, p. 703) so interprets it (ante p. 66). Naturally the Sunní commentators take a different view, and say it refers to the writing on the Preserved Table 'Lauh'l-Mahfúz', on which in heaven the Qur'án is said to have been written ready for Gabriel to bring it down in separate portions from time to time.

sample of one given by the Shaykh of the Málíkí Madhab.

QUESTION

What do the 'Ulamá' of Islám say as to the innovations introduced by the infidels in Cairo? For instance, they put themselves on an equality with the Amírs, the 'Ulamá' and the Sharífs, they wear rich garments, use the same kind of saddles as Muslim officials use, with servants running in front and in the rear. They purchase slaves, build houses higher than our mosques, and increase their churches and monasteries. The women walk out in public, wearing robes like those of Muslim women. It is the duty of the 'Ulamá' to publish the injunctions and to put down these disgraceful innovations.

ANSWER

The Most High has said, 'O believers! take not the Jews or Christians as friends. As for the infidels let them perish, and their works shall God bring to nought.' The 'Ulamá' have said that the words 'until they pay tribute out of hand and be humbled' mean that the Dhimmí must with great humility pay the tax to the Amír, who will then strike the Dhimmí on the back of the neck. The Dhimmís must not ride on horses, nor frequent the public roads, nor assemble in groups, nor have servants in attendance on them in the open thoroughfares and so on.

Other fatvás prohibit their employment as State officials. In modern times these regulations cannot be enforced, but in Hákím's time these laws prevailed, and thus his conduct is explained, though not justified by civilized custom.

with Al-Mahdí was now at an end. Bábíism professes to decide when the Gates would re-appear and the intercourse be renewed. The importance attached to these men was very great, and accounts for the high esteem in which one appeared who called himself the Báb, the Gate.

The ground was prepared for him by Shaykh Aḥmad, the founder of the Shaykhí sect, who soon gathered together a large following. The special point of his teaching was that 'God is immanent in the Universe, which proceeds from Him, and that all the elect of God, all the Imáms and all just persons are personifications of the divine attributes.' Thus the twelve Imáms were personifications of twelve of the chief attributes of God, and consequently they were eternal. Amongst these Imáms, 'Alí holds the highest rank, being superior to angels, prophets and even to Muḥammad.'

The successor of Shaykh Aḥmad was Háj Sayyid Kázim. The Shaykhí doctrine now spread all through Persia, and in 'Iráq also there were more than a hundred thousand disciples. 'They did nothing to call forth the opposition of the Mullás, nor any political repression ; on the contrary, among the admirers of the Shaykh were a great number of

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, Sixième Série, tome vii, p. 458.

Mírzá Kázim Beg adds the following note :—'The scholastic Musalmáns say that the attributes of God are equal and of one quality ; but to the human comprehension some appear superior to others, for example, mercy surpasses severity. According to the doctrine of the Šifá'íans, the attributes of God are eternally inherent in His essence. The Mu'tazilís do not admit this and say, "There is only one supreme existence and that is God ; otherwise we must admit a multiplicity of eternal existences, which is contrary to the dogma of the divine unity." The doctrine of the Shaykhí school is that the attributes of God proceed from the supreme existence, and by His own will become personified in blending with the human soul and spirit which also emanate from God.'

to be done in the matter of a successor, a spiritual director. They then went in different directions. Mullá Husayn proceeded to Shíráz and there met with Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad, who produced before him the signs of his call to his divine mission. Then Mírzá 'Alí gave marvellous expositions and clear explanations of most abstruse questions. For several days Mullá Husayn pondered over these matters, and at last became convinced that he had found in the young and ardent enthusiast before him, the 'Proof,' the 'True One,' the 'Sun of Truth,' to whose advent Hájí Sayyid Kázim had pointed. He wrote to his friends at Karbalá that neither he himself nor any other of them was worthy of the high dignity of Murshid, or leader, and that that 'Illuminated One, to whom their late master had referred, was alone worthy. He had found him at Shíráz and he was worthy to be the Murshid.¹ It is for this reason, and because he so heartily espoused the cause of his new master, that Mullá Husayn is named the Bábu'l-Báb, or Gate of the Gate; the Harf-i-Awwal, or First Letter, and the Awwal man ámana, or the First to believe. But this decision was not acceptable to all the Shaykhís. A party headed by Hájí Muḥammad Karím Khán² of Kirmán utterly refused to receive the Báb and became his bitterest persecutors. The Shaykhís thus became divided into two sects. One passed on to Bábísm of which it was, in a way, the source. The other was, and continued to be, in fierce conflict with it. However,

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, Sixième Série, tome vii, p. 465.

² The Bábís called him the 'Very essence of Hell-fire.' *Episode of the Báb*, p. 242.

believers the wishes and wisdom of their invisible head. The term has, however, come to be applied to the person who fulfils this office. It is said that Hájí Muḥammad Karím Khán, the Shaykhí who refused to accept Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad as a leader, considered himself to be the 'Fourth Support.'¹ This, too, was the position of the Báb; at all events at first, for he claimed to be this 'Fourth Support,' and thus to occupy the place held by the 'Gates,' who were the intermediaries between the Imám and his followers during the minor occultation. Thus it is that Bábíism is connected with the very central doctrine of the Shí'ahs, though in many other ways it has so far departed from accepted Muḥammadan ideas as to form a new sect altogether. This will appear as we record the life and work of the Báb.

Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad was born at Shíráz on October 9, 1820. He was brought up by an uncle who was engaged in mercantile pursuits, but as his mind was more inclined to religious meditation and speculative thought, he proceeded to Karbalá, where he attended the lectures of the Shaykhí leader Hájí Sayyid Kázim. He was distinguished by his zeal for learning and soon won the esteem of his teachers. He now composed a commentary on Súratu Yúsuf. The Bábí historian ² says of this work that in it, 'He addressed himself to that person unseen from whom he received help and grace, sought for aid in the arrangements of his preliminaries, and craved the sacrifice in the way of

¹ See *Episode of the Báb*, pp. 243-4 for an exposition of these two views.

² *Episode of the Báb*, p. 4.

classes : ‘ (1) rigorous and pious Muslims who really believed that the signs of Al-Mahdí were fulfilled in him ; (2) all who desired reform in Persia and thought that Bábíism would contribute toward that end ; (3) the mystics who considered Bábíism to be similar to their own pantheistic system ; (4) those who were attracted by the personal influence of the Báb.’¹ There is some difference of opinion as to what he really meant by the title of Báb which he had now assumed. Mírzá Kázim Beg says, ‘I do not know whether he was acquainted with the words of Christ, “I am the door ;” but he doubtless knew that Muḥammad had said, “I am the city of knowledge and ‘Alí is the gate of that city.”’²

However, he now gave out that, as ‘Alí had been the Gate, by which men entered the city of the Prophet’s knowledge, even so he was the Gate through which men might attain to the knowledge of the twelfth Imám. His followers have now discarded that name, and he is known amongst the Bábís by several titles, such as Ḥaẓrat, or His Highness ; Ḥaẓrat-i-nuqṭah-i-bayán, or His Highness the point of Revelation ; Ḥaẓrat-i-nuqṭah-i-úlá, or His Highness the First point ; Ḥaẓrat-i-rabbi ala‘ala, or His Highness my Lord the Supreme. More recently the Bahá’ís call him Ḥaẓrat-i-mubashshir, or His Highness the Evangelist. Count Gobineau, a good authority on the subject, says, ‘Mírzá Muḥammad ‘Alí said that he was not the Báb in the sense in which they (his

¹ *RASJ*, 1889, p. 504.

² *Journal Asiatique*, 1866, p. 342,

who were in part initiated into his teaching.¹ The Mullás of Shíráz appointed their ablest men to dispute with him, with the result that the enthusiasm regarding him greatly increased. Mírzá Kázim Beg thus describes one of these famous disputations. The 'Ulamá' assembled. The Báb appeared in the midst of them and spoke with courage and enthusiasm. The Governor, Husayn Khán, who had assumed the character and position of a learner, humbly suggested that the Báb should demonstrate that his doctrines were superior to those of Muḥammad. The Báb answered boldly, 'Take my Qur'án, compare it with that of your Prophet, and you will be convinced that my religion is the preferable one.' On hearing these words, the Governor changed his attitude and called for the executioner to whom he pointed out the prisoner. The Báb was then bound and beaten.

A Bábí historian² gives fuller details. He says that the matter acquired such importance that the reigning Sháh sent one of the most learned Doctors of the age, Sayyid Yaḥyá, to interview the Báb and to report the result. He held three long conferences with him, but the result was that he was so charmed with the Báb that he accepted him as a leader and admitted all his claims. About this time, Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí, a leading teacher, sent a person to Shíráz to ascertain the facts of the case. This messenger returned with some of the Báb's writings, which so impressed Mullá Muḥammad

¹ Count Gobineau, *Les religions et les philosophies dans L'Asie Centrale*, p. 148.

² *Episode of the Báb*, p. 7.

followers were allowed free intercourse with him, and continual correspondence went on between the Báb and his principal agents. The Báb at this time wrote many religious books, and his influence seemed to be on the increase. After the insurrection of Mázarán it was determined to place him in stricter confinement, and so he was removed to the citadel of Chirík, near Urumiyyé, of which place Yahyá Khán was the Governor. He treated the Báb, who prayed and worked without ceasing, with deference and respect. Even the soldiers who guarded him, were influenced by his calm manner and his attractive conversation. The Báb was confined at Chirík about two and a half years, and, it is said, there declared himself to be the Qá'im, or the Imám Mahdí.

Soon after his arrival at Chirík he was brought to Tabriz to undergo his first examination. The Muḥammadan historians represent him as utterly foolish and ignorant.¹ The Bábí account of it is that the Báb advanced the claim of Mahdí-hood, on which a great tumult arose, and that, in general, his defence was a success. He was severely beaten and sent back to confinement in Chirík. Then we are told that 'learned divines and esteemed lawyers who were possessed of power and influence, girt up the loins of endeavour for the eradication and suppression of this sect.' They maintained that the Báb and his followers were not only in error, but were also hurtful to Church and State. The King, Muḥammad Sháh, however, declined to interfere,

¹ A full account is given in the *Episode of the Báb*, pp. 277-90 : also in the *New History of the Báb*, pp. 285-91.

Janáb-i-Ṭáhira, or Her Excellency the Pure. From that time all acknowledged her position. Her father now brought her back to her home at Kazvín, but she was not happy there, as her friends and relatives were all bitterly opposed to the Shaykhís and the Bábís. Her uncle who showed much hatred of the Bábís, was now assassinated, and Qurratu'l-'Ayn was unjustly charged with being privy to the deed. This rendered her further stay in Kazvín impossible, and she left for a place called Núr, where she remained until the suppression by the Government of the Mázandarán insurrection. She was then made a prisoner and sent to Ṭihrán. On her arrival she was taken before the Sháh who said, 'I like her looks, leave her and let her be.' She was then kept in prison, though her confinement does not appear to have been very rigorous, for she had occasional intercourse with different Bábís and her life was in no danger until the attempt to assassinate the Sháh was made, when the mere fact of being a Bábí was sufficient to imperil life. Even there her marvellous beauty, enthusiasm and eloquence won for her the regard of her custodian, Maḥmúd Khán. He did all he could, consistent with his duty, to soften the rigours of captivity and held out hopes for the future. One morning Maḥmúd Khán returned from Court, saying that he had brought good news. He told Qurratu'l-'Ayn that she was to appear before her judges, and it was understood that, if she denied that she was a Bábí, she would be left alone, on condition that she lived quietly and ceased to teach. She indignantly replied that she would do no such thing and

knew how to inspire them with perfect confidence. She was well educated and very beautiful. Everything retired before her. She raised the veil¹ which covered her face, not to set at nought the laws of chastity and modesty, so deeply graven on the tables of the orthodox law and in popular prejudice, but much rather in order to give by her look more force to the inspired words she spoke. Her speeches stigmatized that gross tyranny which for so many centuries had imprisoned liberty. She preached not, as some have said, to abolish the laws of modesty, but to sustain the cause of liberty. The eloquent words which fell from her mouth captivated the hearts of her hearers, who became enthusiastic in her praise.'

Some of her poems breathe the spirit of Súfíism and show now deeply her mind was imbued with mystic lore. This is far more apparent in the original than in any translation of them. The following lines are from a translation by Mr. Browne :—

Though with sword in hand my Darling stand, with
intent to slay, though I sinless be,

If it pleases him, this tyrant's whim, I am well content
with his tyranny.

The country of ' I ' and ' We ' forsake ; thy home in
annihilation make,

Since fearing not this step to take, thou shalt gain
the highest felicity.

Her romantic career, her marvellous power and
her tragic end contributed to give for a time strength

¹ Some Bábis say she did not do this ; but Count Gobineau says, ' elle s'éleva non seulement contre la polygamie, mais contre l'usage d'une voile.' *Les Religions et les philosophies dans L'Asie Centrale*, p. 168.

and give orders to them to fire a volley.' The orders were given to the chief of the farrashes and the next day, the Báb and a youthful Bábí of good family, named Áká Muḥammad 'Alí, after being condemned by the Mullás, were delivered up to the Colonel of the regiment already named. On the previous evening the Báb said to his friends, 'Tomorrow they will martyr me with shame and dishonour. Let one of you arise and slay me, so that I may not have to suffer the dishonour and humiliation from the adversaries.' All, with great expressions of sorrow, began to excuse themselves except Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí, who seemed as if about to obey the command. His comrades, however, prevented him, saying, 'Such boldness and rashness is not the mark of true service.' For the following account of what really happened, I am indebted to Mírzá Kázim Beg.¹

The roads which led to the court of the barracks were crowded with people. At a military execution in Persia, the condemned are tied together with their backs turned towards the firing party. Áká Muḥammad 'Alí begged to be allowed to turn his face towards the people, and then, in a loud but calm voice, he began to say some prayers which had been composed by the master. The Báb kept perfectly silent. His pale and beautiful face surrounded by a black beard, his white and delicate hands, his figure and distinguished manner, everything in his person and in his dress aroused the sympathy and compassion of the spectators. The first volley

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, Sixième Série, tome vii, p. 371.

- *The New History of the Báb* also has a full account, pp. 297-312.

· give up the Báb, to save his life and to return to his family. Mr. Browne translates the letter thus :—

‘ He is the Compassionate.

O thou who art my Qibla ! My condition, thanks to God, has no fault, and “ to every difficulty succeedeth ease.” You have written that this matter has no end. What matter, then, has any end ? We, at least, have no discontent in this matter ; nay, rather, we are unable sufficiently to express our thanks for this favour. The end of this matter is to be slain in the way of God, and Oh ! what happiness is this. The will of God will come to pass with regard to his servants, neither can human plans avert the divine decree. O thou who art my Qibla, the end of the world is death. If the appointed fate which God hath decreed overtake me, then God is the guardian of my family, and thou art mine executor ; behave in such wise as is pleasing to God, and pardon whatever has proceeded from me which may seem lacking in courtesy, or contrary to the respect due from juniors, and seek pardon for me from all those of my household and commit me to God. God is my patron and how good is He as a Guardian ! ’¹

This letter is a remarkable witness to the power which the Báb had over his disciples, a power which could lead this youth, with so promising a future before him, to give up home and life, to face death and its terrors rather than be separated from the Master he loved so truly.

The Báb wished to effect religious reform, not to deal with affairs of the State, or to injure the status of the reigning family. He was absorbed in spiritual meditations and in mystical contemplations and was not a political fanatic. But when his followers found that the Government would not help forward reforms and would not move from the orthodox Shí‘ah standpoint, they gave to the Bábí

¹ This original letter is given in the *RASJ*, October 1889, p. 992.

not on the skirt of the patience and self-control of the king, whose elemental material God the Creator had leavened with the liver of the lion, the heart of Ardashir, the ardour of Shápúr, and the majesty of Taimúr. Neither did he urge his horse to turn aside, nor did he utter a word indicative of alarm or consternation. He kept his place on the poplar-wood saddle like some mountain of massive rocks, and, notwithstanding that wound, turned not aside in any direction, and carried not his hand to his hurt, so that those present in his escort knew not that any hurt had befallen the king, or that he had suffered any wound.'

At the examination before the Council of Ministers, the two arrested Bábís, though most severely tortured, declared that they had no accomplices, that they could not hesitate to obey the sacred orders of their chiefs who were no longer in Persia. They said, 'you can torture us till the day of judgment, we shall say no more.' The most stringent measures were at once taken against the Bábís. Baha'u'lláh and Subh-i-Ezel escaped death, though the former was arrested and a reward was offered for the capture of the latter. Most of these who were arrested were condemned to death, whether any proof could be given of their complicity in the plot or not. It was quite enough to be known as a Bábí. A great fear fell upon those in authority, and it was determined to make now a terrible example. An English traveller says,¹ 'Tow steeped in oil was inserted between their fingers and behind their

• ¹John Ussher, *Diary of a Journey from London to Persepolis*, p. 628.

accompanied by musicians, whilst the spectators threw dust and ashes on them. At last they were sawn asunder. Sulaymán bore these tortures most heroically and during them testified to the joy he felt at suffering martyrdom for the cause of the Báb.

He recited the following verses :—

I have returned! I have returned! I have come by
the way of Shíráz!

I have come with winsome airs and graces! Such is
the lover's madness.¹

'Why do you not dance,' said the executioner,
'since you find death so pleasant?' The reply
was :—

In one hand the wine cup, in one hand the tresses of
the beloved.

Such a dance in the midst of the market-place is my
desire.

Renan speaks of the massacre thus : 'The day of
the slaughter of the Bábís in Tíhrán was, perhaps,
a day unparalleled in the history of the world.'²

Count Gobineau says : 'Children and women with
lighted candles stuck into their wounds were driven
along by whips, and as they went along they sang,
"We came from God, and unto Him we return."

When the children expired their corpses were thrown
at the feet of their fathers. Night fell on a mass of
shapeless flesh, and the dogs came in troops to the
place.'³ Since then there have been occasional
acts of violence,⁴ and some Bábís have been put to
death with great cruelty. Only in one case, and

باز آمدم باز آمدم از راه شیراز آمدم * با عشرة باز آمدم هذا جنون العاصي¹

² *Les Apostres*, p. 378.

³ *Les Religions et les Philosophies dans L'Asie Centrale*, p. 302.

⁴ For a list of these see *The Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*,
vol. ii, p. 302.

come from Him and exist by Him. Man cannot approach Him except through some appointed medium. So, distinct from God there is a Primal Will,¹ or *Mashiyyat-i-Úlá*, who becomes incarnate in the prophets. This Primal Will which spoke in all the prophets of the past, spoke also in the Báb, who is the *Nuqta-i-Bayán*, or the point of Revelation and it will speak in 'Him whom God shall manifest.' This is apparent from the following texts of the *Bayán*, 'The whole *Bayán* revolves round the saying of "Him whom God shall manifest."' 'A thousand perusals of the *Bayán* are not equal to the perusal of one verse of what shall be revealed by "Him whom God shall manifest."' It must be remembered that Bahá'u'lláh claimed and is allowed by his followers this exalted position. The following are some of the expressions used of Bahá by his

¹ 'There is an evident connection between this dogma of the Bábís and the *Şúfí* system, in which the 'First Intelligence,' or 'Primal Element' is represented as a manifestation of God. To the *Şúfí*, as to the Bábí God is 'sterile in His inaccessible height.' Men can never be more than slaves, nearness to Him is impossible. This intermediary is the Primal Will of the Bábí and the Primal Element of the *Şúfí*, who also calls it by the names of the Pen, the First Principle, the spirit of Muḥammad, Universal Reason or 'aql-i-kull. God's voice is heard through it, by it material things were brought into existence. It works in Prophets and Saints. The Imám is closely connected with it. I am not able to find out whether the Báb taught that the Primal Will was created or not. In *Şúfí* theology it certainly is, for in the *Akhláq-i-Jalálí* it is written: 'It is admitted, equally by the masters of perception and conception, that the First Principle which, at the mandate, "Be and it is," issued, by the ineffable power and will, from the chaotic ocean of inexistence, was a simple and luminous essence which, in the language of philosophy, is termed the Primary Intelligence, and the great fathers of mysticism and investigation call it the Muḥammadan Spirit.' It is to this and not to the inaccessible and incomprehensible God that the Imám seeks to return. When his work in life is done, then 'his end is joined to his beginning'—*Ba ágház girdad báz anjám*. It is a curious phase of human thought which the *Şúfís* evidently borrowed from the Gnostics and the Bábís from the *Şúfís*. This earnest longing for communion with a manifestation of God we can sympathize with, and only regret that, in their ignorance or the repudiation of the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation, both *Şúfí* and Bábí have so sadly missed the mark.

now speaks in the Báb and will speak through 'Him whom God shall manifest.' 'That which spoke in Adam, Noah, Moses, David, Jesus and Muḥammad¹ was the one and the same Primal Will. In each manifestation news has been given of the following one. Thus the Jews were told to expect a Messiah but they rejected him; the Christians to expect Muḥammad but, as a rule, they did not accept him; so the Muḥammadans are taught to look out for Imám Mahdí. Yet now he has come (that is, in the Báb) they persecute him.'²

The chapters of the *Bayán* are arranged in groups of nineteen, a number which has a peculiar significance with the Bábís. Each letter of the Arabic alphabet has a numerical value, and so dates can be given by words or sentences. Alif, the first letter, stands for God, and the word for one is wáḥid. The numerical value of the letters in this word is 19. God is absolute Being, or wujúd, the value of the letters of which also comes to 19.³ The name of one of the attributes of God is Ḥayy, or the Living. The sum of the letters of this word is 18, to which, if we add the letter Alif—the 'One,' which pervades all, we again get the sacred number 19. Nineteen, then, represents the manifestation of the unknowable

¹ These are the Anbiyá' Ulú'l-'Azm of Islām. See *The Faith of Islām* (4th ed.), p. 293.

² *KASJ*, vol. xxi, pp. 914, 925.

³ This is in accord with the second canon of the Cabbalistic system of Biblical interpretation in the thirteenth century in Germany, which is called *Gematria*, or 'the use of the numerical values of the letters of a word for purposes of comparison with other words which yield the same or similar combinations of numbers.' I am not prepared to say that there is any historical connection between the Cabbalist and the Persian mystic. The subject needs investigation. For the Jewish use of *Gematria*, see Oesterley and Box, *The Literature of Rabbinical and Medieval Judaism*, pp. 233, 278, 282.

progresses, the Primal Will, the teacher of men, speaks in each new revelation more fully and more clearly. All these successive and progressive revelations and dispensations were not for the purpose of abrogating preceding essential laws, but to complete them and especially to prepare the world for the fuller teaching of 'Him whom God shall manifest.'

Professor Browne thus states the Bábí view of successive dispensations: 'A new prophet is not sent until the development of the human race renders this necessary. A revelation is not abrogated till it no longer suffices for the needs of mankind. There is no disagreement between the prophets: all teach the same truth, but in such measure as men can receive it. As mankind advance and progress they need fuller instruction. The instruction given by Abraham was suitable and sufficient for the people of his day, but not for those to whom Moses was sent, while this in turn had ceased to meet the needs of those to whom Christ was sent. Yet we must not say that their religions were opposed to one another, but rather that each manifestation is more complete and more perfect than the last.'¹

The great point in the Bábí theology is that the teacher is one and the same, though he manifests himself according to the capacity and needs of those to whom he is sent. The outward form changes but the Universal Spirit remains.² It then follows that 'during the long intervals which separate one

¹ Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, p. 303.

² 'The religion of God is One, though the Theophanies differ.' *New History of the Báb*, p. 236.

Speaking of *Barzakh*¹ he says, 'What is intended by *Barzakh* is merely the interval between the two manifestations, and not that which is commonly known amongst men, for none knoweth what shall be decreed unto them after death except God.' The hope of future reward was not placed before his followers as an inducement to accept him, and this is in direct contrast to the conduct and teaching of Muḥammad. In the *Bayán* the Báb wrote the following words: 'So worship God that, if the recompense of the worship of Him were to be the fire, no alteration in thy worship of Him would be made; if you gaze on Paradise, and if you worship in hope of that, you have made God's creation a partner with Him.'²

He now wrote a book called the *Ikám* in which he seemed to admit the superior claim of Subḥ-i-Ezel, but later on he called upon all the Ezelís to submit to his authority and said that God would aid him, and all who opposed his claim to the leadership would be bitterly cursed. The result of the schism was that gradually the influence of Subḥ-i-Ezel grew less and his followers became few. 'Of Bábíism as a living force, affecting both East and West, Akka has been the centre for the last forty years, and seems likely so to remain.'³

that they inclined to the doctrine of Metempsychosis (*Tanásuḥ-i-Arwāh*); other Bábís understood the "Return (*Rij'at*) to the life of this world" in a less material and more symbolic sense, while some disbelieve in personal immortality, or limit it to those holy beings who are endowed with a spirit of a higher grade than is vouchsafed to ordinary mortals.' Browne in *The Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. ii, p. 305.

¹ See *The Faith of Islām* (4th ed.), pp. 285, 321.

² *RASJ*, October 1889, p. 931.

³ *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. ii, p. 303.

active man, took the lead in all practical matters. The Persian Consul at Baghdad was hostile to the Bábís and the Turkish authorities were prevailed upon to expel them from Baghdad. The two leaders were first sent to Constantinople and after four months were banished to Adrianople, where they lived for four years. At Baghdad, Bahá'u'lláh, a man of resolute will and ambitious character, professedly acted under the instructions of his brother, but the idea gradually formed itself in his mind that he should become actually, as indeed he was virtually, the head and leader of the Bábís. Thus the influence of Bahá'u'lláh grew, and he began to advance claims, which afterwards culminated in the assertion that he was the person to whom the Báb referred as, 'Him whom God shall manifest.'¹ To this claim² the Ezelís replied that, before the person of whose advent the Báb had spoken could come, Bábíism must obtain general currency, and its laws be accepted by most nations. It was not to be supposed that two manifestations—that of the Báb and that of 'Him whom God shall manifest'—could take place with so short an interval of time between them. To all this the Bahá'ís declared that the Báb had said that the new prophet would come suddenly; that Malachi had foretold the advent of Bahá'u'lláh,³ that the name Elijah in

¹ Man yazaru'lláh. He openly declared his divine mission in 1866-7 at Adrianople, from which came the schism commenced.

² It required great firmness to meet this claim and Professor Browne says, 'Such firmness Subh-i-Ezel, a peace-loving, contemplative, gentle soul, wholly devoted to his beloved master, caring little for authority and incapable of self-assertion, seems to have altogether lacked.' Introduction to the *New History of the Báb*, p. xxi.

³ The Bahá'ís apply 2 Thess. ii. 1-8 to the appearance of Subh-i-Ezel, who is 'the man of sin,' whom the Lord Bahá'u'lláh will

was now made. A struggle for leadership commenced, for Bahá'u'lláh's claim virtually deposed the Báb from his position as the 'Point of Revelations' and made him the mere forerunner of 'Him whom God shall manifest.' Assuming that Bahá'u'lláh had right on his side, it is stated that the changes he made were in a practical direction and beneficial. His teaching was less mystical than that of the Báb, and his laws, as laid down in the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas*, are simpler than those framed by the Báb. He appealed to all men, not simply to Shí'ah Muḥammadans. His organization was good and his missionaries kept him well acquainted with news from all parts. They had all the tact of Isma'ílian Dá'ís (ante p. 37), who accommodated the instruction given to the opinions of their hearers, and only gradually led on to the doctrines of the system. His attitude to the Shí'ahs and to the Persian Government was generally conciliatory.

To a very large number of Bábís Bahá'u'lláh was during the latter part of his life¹ looked up to as a divinely appointed guide. Before he assumed that position he wrote a book called the *Ikán*, which is held in great esteem. In this book he seems to acknowledge the then superior position of Subḥ-i-Ezel, but writes bitterly of some who were hostile to himself. Ten years after the Turks had banished him to Adrianople, he boldly asserted his claim and called on all the Ezelís to submit to his directions. He then wrote other treatises in which he declared that God would make him victorious over all who

¹ He died in exile on May 16, 1893.

sanctified from every form of selfishness and lust, for the weapons of the worshippers of the Unity and the saints were, and are, the fear of God. Every one who desireth victory must first subdue the city of his own heart with the sword of spiritual truth and of the word. No stranger must find his way into the city of the heart, so that the Incomparable Friend (God) may come unto His own place, that is, the effulgence of His names and attributes, not His essence, for that Peerless King hath been and will be holy for everlasting above ascent or descent.’¹

People often came to Bahá'u'lláh for direction as to their conduct and for instruction. This led him to write the *Lauḥ-i-aqdas*, or the ‘Most Holy Book,’ in which many practical rules are laid down. It will be seen that they differ considerably from those which are current in Islám. Prayer is to be said three times a day; the number of prostrations are much fewer than those held necessary amongst Muḥammadans. The worshipper no longer turns to Mecca, but towards ‘the Most Holy Region, the Holy Place, whence issueth the command to whomsoever is in the earths and the heavens.’² That Akka (Acre) is meant is clear, because it is said that

¹ This is to guard against the idea held by some that God comes down into man, or man rises unto God, and that thus both are identified. The mystical view is that man is annihilated in God. Jâmi, a Şúfî, says:—

So treat this path that duality may disappear,
For if there be duality in this path, falsity will arise;
Thou wilt not become *He*; but, if thou strivest,
Thou wilt reach a place where *thou-ness* (tú tú'í) shall depart
from thee.

² Count Gobineau says that the Báb did not substitute any Qibla for the ancient ones of Jerusalem and Mecca which he set aside; but declared that ‘ce sera le grand Revelateur qui deciders.’ *Les Religions et les Philosophies dans L'Asie Centrale*, p. 332.

successors consider it an evil thing to accept the tolerance which he showed as regards duality of wives.¹ All are to read the sacred books regularly, to be kind and courteous in their conduct, to give alms, to approve for others what they would like themselves, and to forgive their enemies. Instead of the usual Muḥammadan salutation, 'As-saláma 'alaikum: 'alaikumu's-salám, or 'peace be upon you' and 'upon you be peace,' the Bábís amongst themselves, on meeting one another, say, 'Alláhu abhá,' 'God is most bright,' to which the response is the same.

Some of the precepts to guide the conduct of Bahá'ís are on the following subjects:—

1. Abolition of religious warfare.
2. Friendly intercourse with all sects and people.
3. Promise of this 'Most Great Peace.'²
4. Obedience to the ruler who protects them.
5. Submission to the laws of the country in which they live.
6. Confession of sin to fellow-men is prohibited. Confession must be to, and pardon sought from, God only.
7. The study of such sciences as tend to the welfare of mankind is encouraged.
8. All must learn some trade or practise some profession.
9. Visits to tombs and shrines are not obligatory.

The political influence of the Bábís in Persia has

¹ Gobineau, *Les Religions et les Philosophies dans L'Asie Centrale*, p. 346.

² An expression used by Bahá'u'lláh in conversation with Mr. Browne. Bahá'u'lláh said, 'We desire . . . that all nations should become one in faith and all men as brothers; that the bond of affection and unity between the sons of men should be strengthened; that diversities of religion should cease, and differences of race be annulled—what harm is there in this? . . . Yet so it shall be; these fruitless strifes, these ruinous wars shall pass away, and the "Most Great Peace" shall come,' *A Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 40,

the spiritual head and his brother 'Abbás Efendí as the secular head of the community.

The claim of 'Abbas Efendí to the headship was disputed by his brother Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí,¹ named 'The most great Branch,' who also received the support of his two younger brothers. 'Abbás Efendí appears to have claimed that the revelation was not ended, but had passed on to him. His opponents said it was closed and quoted from Bahá'u'lláh's book, the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas* (the most holy book), the words 'Whosoever lays claim to any authority before the completion of a millenium is assuredly a liar.'² On the one hand, 'Abbás Efendí's claim had the support of his father's written wish; on the other it seemed to be opposed to his father's teaching. 'As in the case of the previous schism between Bahá'u'lláh and Subḥ-i-Ezel, so here the conflict was between those who held that every day of Theophany must be succeeded by a night of Occultation, and those who felt that the Light by which they had walked could not be extinguished, but must rather increase in brightness.'³ The followers of 'Abbás Efendí remained supreme.

In Cairo a Syrian Jew, Ibráhím George Khayru'lláh, became a Bábí convert. He proceeded to America and commenced to lecture in Chicago on the religion of Bahá'u'lláh.⁴ A rich lady presented 'Abbás Efendí with a large house at the foot of Mount Carmel. Public notice was thus called to Baháism,

¹ In a Bahá'í poem he is called a 'breaker (náqid) of the covenant.

² *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. ii, p. 304.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 304.

⁴ He is said to have taught the Bahá'ís in America how to utter the most holy name of God.

Efendí, as his American admirer describes it, is very obscure. It leads to pantheism and is based on the theory that in the person of Bahá'u'lláh the essence of God is manifested and that he is the duly appointed world-teacher of the age. The ultra-Shí'ah sects held peculiar views of incarnation, reincarnation and the like, and Professor Browne says that 'these doctrines appear to be endemic in Persia, and always ready to be epidemic under suitable stimulus. In our day they appeared in the Bábí movement of which in its earliest form (A.D. 1844 to 1852) they contained the essential kernel, though in a later time under the influence of Bahá'u'lláh and now of his son, 'Abbás Efendí, they have been relegated to a subordinate or at least a less conspicuous position.' The teaching of Bahá'u'lláh is said to contain the following: the gathering of all people to the acceptance of himself as the manifestation of God, as the divine guide to the true religion, the spread of universal love and universal peace, thus abolishing war and bloodshed, the harmonizing of all national customs and characteristic in a great and harmonious brotherhood. This constant setting forth of universal love and brotherhood is strange, when we see how the history of Bábíism reveals just the contrary. Bahá'u'lláh superseded his brother Subh-i-Ezel. 'Abbás Efendí was opposed to his brother Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí, and so two rival sects arose. Thus in its highest domestic circles it has absolutely failed to bring peace and harmony into the family life of its leaders, who by their example preach the doctrines of discord and unbrotherly love.

that it is a religious revolt against orthodox Islám. It raises women to a higher level, it professes to limit many of the social evils of Islám, it tends to give liberty of thought and to develop a friendly spirit to others.¹ It does, at least, betray a longing for a real, living, loving, personal guide, the revealer of God to man, which can be best met by the acceptance of the Eternal Word. In any case, if only liberty of conscience can be secured, there seems to be a wide and open door for the proclamation of 'Him whom God has manifested,' 'in Whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge,' for it 'pleased the Father that in Him should all fulness dwell.' (Coloss. ii. 3; i. 19.)

The latest development of Mahdíism is seen in the modern Ahmacíyya sect. It illustrates the far-reaching influence of the doctrine of the Imámat. Its founder Mírzá Ghulám Ahmad Khán was born in the year 1839 at Qádián, a village in the Punjab. In 1888 he claimed to be the Messiah and Al-Mahdí, and asserted that certain ancient prophecies were fulfilled in his person and mission, and that

¹ I am indebted to a well-known Missionary who has spent a long time in Persia for the following facts :—

(1) The Bahá'ís admit that the Lord Jesus Christ was the incarnate Son; but claim that Bahá was the incarnate Father, and as each incarnation is superior to a proceeding one, Bahá is greater than Christ.

(2) Some of the Bahá'ís now say, 'we are Christians;' others say, 'we are almost Christians;' others, 'The only difference between us is that we accepted Christ when he came to us fifty years ago (i.e. in Bahá) and you rejected him.'

(3) They constantly invite the Christian missionary to their houses, and are most hospitable and kind.

(4) The Bahá'ís admit that the New Testament is the uncorrupted Word of God.

(5) Many Jews in Persia have become Bábís and, on the other hand, some Bábís have become Christians.

whom were able men, who supported his claims in a monthly periodical, called the *Review of Religions*. He died on May 26, 1908. Hákím Núru'd-Dín then became the leader of the movement under the title of Khalífa'u'l-Masíh (successor of the Messiah). He was assisted by a council.

Mírzá Ghulám Aḥmad had commanded his followers to abstain from any interference in political matters. In 1914 this order was disregarded, and a new party, the Anjuman-i-Ishá't-i-Islám, was formed at Lahore. Thus, just as in the Bábi movement in Persia, so here, after the death of the founder, divisions began and the unity of the sect was broken.

On the death of Núru'd-Dín, a son of the Mírzá, named Bashíru'd-Dín Maḥmúd Aḥmad became the Khalífa. The Lahore Anjuman was then represented in England by Khájah Kamálu'd-Dín, editor of a magazine published in England and an active missionary of the Aḥmadíyya movement. He has also edited a new English translation of the Qur'án with a commentary, remarkable chiefly by its disregard of the opinions of approved Muslim commentators, by its divergence from accepted Muslim beliefs, by its ignorant dogmatism and by its hatred of Christianity.¹

The Aḥmadís, or Qádiánís, as they are also called, are active propagandists of the views of the founder of the sect. This propaganda is not confined to India, but is extended to foreign countries.² The

¹ See *Criticism of a Qádiānī Commentary* (C.L.S.)

² 'In a petition sent to the Amír of Afghánistán asking for the release of a Qádiānī prisoner, it is said that he was a member of a community numbering about a million people.' This is probably

THE DARWISHES

THE Darwishes look upon Islám as a vast theocracy in which their spiritual leaders are the true guides. They believe that Muslims should be governed by an imám who is both a religious and political leader, who should so manifestly be a ruler that the words of the sacred tradition may be fulfilled. 'He who dies without recognizing the authority of the Imám of the age is accounted dead and is an infidel.' It is the special function of the great Religious Orders to keep this principle alive and to teach people its vast importance. In Africa and in parts of Asia it has resulted in a great pan-Islámic movement having for its object not merely 'resistance to the advance of Christianity, but also opposition to the progress of Western civilization in Muslim lands.'¹ Under various pretexts, innumerable agents of these Orders went in all directions; sometimes as students, preachers, doctors, artisans, beggars and quacks. The people received them kindly and protected them when they fell under the suspicion of the rulers of the countries in which they carried on their propaganda.

It was not until the nineteenth century that Islám suffered any great reverses. When the change began it very soon led to a great increase in the number and the strength of the Darwish Orders.

¹ Count Castries, *L'Islám*, p. 220.

officers were executed; many of its monasteries were demolished, its members were not allowed to wear their distinctive dress; but the Order survived. These men were not lacking in courage. One of them stopped Sultán Maḥmúd and, seizing the bridle of his horse, said, 'Giaour Padishah, art thou not yet content with abominations? Thou wilt answer to God for all thy godlessness. Thou revilest Islám and drawest the vengeance of the Prophet on thyself and us.' The Sultán called upon his guard to put this 'fool' away. 'I a fool,' said the Darwish, 'it is thou and thy worthless counsellors who have lost their senses. Muslims to the rescue!' The bold Darwish was put to death and ever after was venerated as a saint. An Arab poet addressed Hárún'r-Rashíd thus:—

Religious gems can ne'er adorn
The flowing robe by pleasure worn;
Its feeble texture soon would tear
And give these jewels to the air.
Thrice happy those, who seek the abode
Of peace and pleasure in their God;
Who spurn the world, its joys despise,
And grasp at bliss beyond the skies.¹

In Algiers the work of the Darwishes has been manifest since 1830. The Emir 'Abdu'l-Qádir owed much of his popularity and success to the intrigues and support of the Qádiríyya Order. The insurrections in 1864, 1871 and 1881 were due in great part to the action of these Darwishes. It was very difficult to counteract their influence with the masses, for whenever, after a local insurrection, the French authorities had destroyed the Záwiyahs,

¹ Quoted in Gilman's *The Saracens*, p. 374.

one wife, and only takes a second if ~~the first is~~ childless, and the succession to the headship of the Order is hereditary. Absolute and unquestioning obedience must be rendered to him by every member of the Order. Subordinate to the Shaykh are the Muqaddams (chiefs), who are placed in charge of the several Záwiyahs¹ or Monasteries. From amongst the Ikhwán, or brethren of the Order, certain persons are elected as assistants to the Muqaddams. These are the Wakíl, who has charge of the property and funds of the Záwiyah, and the Raqqáb, who is employed as a courier to carry despatches. In the assembling of the members of the Order the Muqqadam is assisted by the Chá'ush or leader, the Muddáh or precentor and the Qaṣṣád or chanter of the qaṣídas or elegies. There are also the 'Allám or standard bearers, and the Suqqáh or water carriers. All these offices are filled by members of the Order who ~~look~~ upon their several duties as a grave religious work.

The simple members of an Order are called Ikhwán² or brothers; Aṣháb³ or companions, while the generic name of Darwish covers all. A disciple is called a Muríd, and his spiritual guide is known as a Pír. He who faithfully perform the religious rites of the Order is known as a Murábiṭ. He is

¹ Literally, a corner and so a secluded place as a cell, a hermitage, a convent

² This name is now given to the fanatical followers of the Wahhábí ruler, though they do not form a Darwish Order. Another form of the name is Khouan.

³ They are subdivided into *أصحاب الفتوى* Aṣhābu'l-Fatwa, or companions of the decree; *أصحاب البساط* Aṣhābu'l-Bisāt, or companions of the carpet; *أصحاب الأمد* Aṣhābu'l-Ashad, or companions of zeal; *أصحاب اليد* Aṣhābu'l-Yad, or companions of the hand.

attain, or at least approximate to, spiritual perfection.¹

For the origin of many of the Orders a supernatural claim is made. Al-Khidr (Elias) is said to have been the greatest saint of his age, an intermediary between God and man and the founder of a Religious Order. He is supposed to be still alive and active, able to give power to the devotee who attains to the dignity of a Qutb. Owing to his being transported from place to place by the Spirit of God, to his investiture of Elisha with the prophetic office and to his marvellous translation, it is said that he still retains and exercises great influence with the men who rise to a high order of saintship. To them he unveils the future, confers the gift of blessing (baraka) and gives mystical supernatural powers (taṣarruf). All the members of the Order participate in this blessing and in the abundance of spiritual good, transmitted from the founder of the Order, who had entered into secret and direct communication with Al-Khidr and with the Prophet. The Shaykh almost always nominates his successor.² He informs the Muqaddans and Murīds that he has chosen a man who will maintain the traditions of the founder of their Order and its purity.

¹ There are four stages in this initiation. (1) the Sharī'at, or Holy Law which the Murīd must know and obey; (2) the Tarīqat, or Path, in which he may abandon the observance of forms and ceremonies, and enter on the study of the mystical teaching of the Sūfīs; (3) Ma'rītat, or knowledge. He now attains the supernatural knowledge and is equal to angels; (4) Haqīqat or Truth. He has now reached the stage of Divine Beatitude and is united with Deity. Few pass beyond the second stage, and to attain even to that the pupil must attach himself to a holy Shaykh and be instructed by a Pīr.

² Some, however, on the ground that the Prophet nominated no successor, leave the election to the Muqaddams. Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, p. 60

one of the gates of old Cairo and other places. It is believed that he can come and go, flit from place to place, as he pleases.

The *Autád* is the name given to holy men of influence in a country, or, in a mystical sense, to men who know God. It has the same meaning as *Arkán*, or pillars in such terms as *Arkán-i-daulat*—pillars of the State. There are four others called the *Anwár*, or lights, who succeed to vacant places among the *Autád*.

Then come the *Khayyár*, a word derived from *khayr* (good). It signifies excellent men. They are seven in number and are constantly travelling about, spreading the light of Islám.

Another class is that of the *Abdál*, the changeable. Owing to the purification of their nature, no vice dwells in them and so their hearts are said to be changed. For their sake God blesses the world. When one dies God appoints another, but no one knows where they live.

The *Shuhadá'*, or martyrs, forty in number, wander about the earth, completing the journey in a month. A person who happens to meet one can seek and obtain from him spiritual blessings. On the Day of Judgement they will all be recalled to God.

Walí, or friend of God, is a title given to a holy man after his death. These saints are highly venerated, and the reverence paid to them is based on a verse of the *Qur'án*, 'Verily on the favourites of God, no fear shall come, nor shall they be put to grief' (*Súratu Yúnas* x. 63). The word for the favourites is *Auliyá'*, the plural of *Walí*. They are supposed

a disciple ; then a Muríd, an aspirant ; then a Faqír, poor in the mystical sense. He now enters upon the Taríq, or path, and sees visions and has supernatural revelations. Thus he becomes a Sálik, a traveller on the mystical road, but many pass on to still higher stages of life and become Majdhúb, the attracted, that is, they are powerfully drawn by God to Himself and are illuminated and inspired. The life of such an one is wholly spiritual and not material, and the outward rites of religion are no longer needed. He is so absorbed in the contemplation of God that he passes on to the state of Tauhíd (unity), and is identified with the Supreme and so loses all sense of separate existence. Not all Darwishes attain to these higher degrees ; they are reserved for the few alone. After some preliminary instruction, the novice is introduced by two of the brethren to the whole assembly of the Darwishes. In the presence of the Muqaddams, or of the Shaykh, he swears that he will be loyal to the Order and obedient to its Shaykh. After a full profession of the creed of Islám, he is taught the Dhikr,¹ or special form of prayer, used in the Order into which he is now to be admitted. The whole assembly then recites the Fátíha the first Súra of the Qur'án. He then gives to all and receives from all the kiss of peace. In some Orders the novitiate extends over a thousand and one days, during which time the novice

¹ A Dhikr easy to remember is learnt. An oath of obedience to the Shaykh, and to all things for the benefit of the Order is made. 'The novice is henceforth bound to loyalty to the Master, who becomes his sole guide in things temporal and spiritual, his intercessor with God, the controller of all his affairs.' Depont et Coppolani, *Les Confréries Religieuses Musalmanes*, p. 199.

of tribute which the Muqaddam exacts from the chiefs of the local tribes, and which few are bold enough to refuse, lest some injury should happen to them.

By far the most important duty in the life of a Darwish is the Dhikr.¹ It is an attempt to secure a mystical union with the Divine through an emotional or sub-conscious bond; an effort carried on under the personal direction of a Mushíd. There are various forms of it. It may be recited aloud, in which case it is called Dhikr-i-jali; or mentally, or in a very low voice and then it is called Dhikr-i-khafi. The Naqshbandíyya Darwishes adopt the former; the Chistíyya and the Qádiríyya Orders the latter form. A Dhikr-i-jali is as follows: the worshipper sits down in the usual way and shouts out Alláh; then sitting as if for prayers again in a louder voice says Alláh; then folding his legs under him says still louder Alláh. Again placing himself in the correct attitude for prayer, he closes his eyes and shouts out the word Lá (no); drawing the sound from his navel, then he says iláha (god) as from his head, and lastly illa'lláh (but God) from his left

¹The origin of this frequent act of worship is to be found in *Súratu'l-Ahzáb* xxxiii. 40. 'O Believers! remember God with frequent remembrance and praise him morning and evening.

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اذْكُرُوا اللَّهَ ذِكْرًا كَثِيرًا وَسَبِّحُوا بِحَمْدِهِ وَامْجِدُوا

The Commentator 'Abdú'lláh bin 'Abbás says that اذكروا means 'Remember with tongue and heart,' and that سجدة is equivalent to 'say the namaz.' The Darwishes say that كثيرا frequent, means that the Dhikr is to be repeated often. There is a curious parody of the Dhikr in the ceremony used for exorcisms, called *Zar*. See Zwemer, *The Influence of Animism on Islām*, chapter xxi.

Dhikr supplies the emotional element in Islām which the formal *Ṣalāt* does not; but like all manifestations of religious emotion it has its dangers, though to some persons it may be helpful and supply a need.

retiring into privacy for devotional purposes (Khil-wat); by turning his face towards God (Tawajjuh); by contemplating God with fear (Muráqabbah); and by mystical spiritualism (Taşarruf) that the Darwish is supported to gain the spiritual internal powers—quwat-i-rúhi wa báṭimi—which enable him to subdue the will of others. The mechanical repetition of the Dhikr naturally weakens the intellect and personal will of the Darwish. It produces a morbid state of mind in which he is easily and blindly led by the stronger will of the Shaykh and the Muqaddams. The whole system is so developed that individuality is crushed out and the Order is exalted. The Shaykh is the one absolute will and all not only venerate but implicitly obey him.

There are said to be altogether eighty-eight Religious Orders.¹ The first came into existence in the first year of the Hijra (622) and the last in 1876. It is said that Abú Bakr first called men to a sort of common community life.² I now proceed to give a short account of some of the most important Orders.

The Ṣiddíqíyya Order takes its name from the word Ṣiddíq³—the righteous—a name given to Abú Bakr. It is found in Yaman, in Egypt and in small numbers in Algeria. Its chief principle is said to

¹ The names of the founders of these Orders with their dates are given by Rinn in *Marabouts et Khouan*, pp. 26-51.

² The Bistámiyya the Naqshbandíyya and the Bakhtáshíyya Orders claim to have descended from the Ṣiddíqíyya community, founded by Abú Bakr. The Uwaisíyya the Qádiríyya and the Sanúsíyya Orders connected themselves with 'Umar and also with 'Alí, to whom all the other Orders look up to as their original head. Each Order has its silsilah, or chain of succession, up to one of these Khalífas.

³ An Order is always called by the adjective formed from the name of its founder.

the largest and most important ones. The great religious revival at the beginning of the nineteenth century, probably due to the Wahhábí revival, stirred up the members of this Order to great activity. Throughout the Western Súdán they have made a great advance by their pacific propaganda.¹ This Order and a more modern and warlike one, the Tijáníyya, have been the principal agents in the extraordinary advance of Islám in the Western and Central Súdáns. 'Abdu'l-Qádir is represented as being a man of large heart and charitable feelings, and his Order was founded 'not only to improve by its mystical teaching the corrupt morals of Muslims, but also to relieve the miseries of men, to comfort the afflicted and to aid the poor by alms.' One of the Muqaddams said, 'If God had not sent Muḥammad to be the seal of the prophets, He would have sent 'Abdu'l-Qádir, for he, by his virtues and charity, most of all resembles Jesus Christ.' He is called the Saint of Saints, the Quṭbu'l-Quṭúb and the Ghauthu'l-A'zam, the Greatest Defender. No man equals him in the alleged working of miracles, nor are such marvellous stories told of any other Shaykh. The Dhikr of this Order is a very long one. On admission the novice has to add to the usual namáz the repetition 165 times of the creed, Lá iláhu illa'lláhu; he must also repeat 121 times the words, O God, bless our Lord Muḥammad and his family;

¹ This is confirmed by a great French authority who says, 'that by the instruction the founder gave to his disciples, by the colonies which he founded the number of the members of the Order multiplied in the Súdáns.' Chatelier, *L'Islam dans L'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 254. See also *C.M.S. Intelligencer*, February 1905, p. 115.

agents are active and they are hostile to Europeans. The chief interest in this Order is that under the influence of 'Abú'l-Ḥauda, an intimate friend of Sultán Abdú'l-Ḥamíd, it took a very active part in propagating the pan-Islámic views of that Sultán. 'Under the powerful direction of 'Abú'l-Ḥauda the Rifá'íyya men sought to recover their spiritual homogeneity and become at the same time sworn enemies of progress and civilization, the unscrupulous executors of the designs of the Ottoman Porte.'¹

The Chistíyya Order was founded by Mu'ínu'd-Dín Chistí, who was born in 1142 and died at Ajmir in 1226. His tomb is still a favourite place of pilgrimage. The members of the Order are mostly Shí'ahs. They are fond of music and perform the Dhikr-i-jali. A friend of the founder, Khwájáh Qutbu'd-Dín, was buried in Delhi. The Qutb Minár is named after him.

The Shádhilíyya Order was founded in 1258. The name is taken from that of its third Shaykh, Sídí Ḥasanu'sh-Shádhil, a man with a great reputation as a jurisconsult and theologian. It flourishes in Egypt and in Algeria. It has given rise to many branches which now form separate Orders. The founder, Abú Madian, was a mystic, deeply versed in Ṣúfíistic lore. To this advanced spiritualism he added great modesty of manner and a ready eloquence. The early chiefs of the Order, worthy disciples of the great master, took little interest in worldly affairs, and were really the heads of a mystical philosophical school. A general order

¹ Depont et Coppolani, *Les Confréries Religieuses Musalmanes*, p. 327.

nine times and *Súratu'l-Ikhlás* (cxii) once. The dignity of its outward ceremonial and the high class of persons affiliated to it are amongst the causes which give this Order a very high place in the esteem and regard with which other Darwishes look upon it. In 1925 the head of the Order was Shaykh Sa'íd of Pálú. His head Takya, or monastery, was a place of pilgrimage and he had many friends amongst the Kurdish chiefs. He took a leading part in the Kurdish revolt against the Angora Government for its policy of Westernization and its abolition of the Qur'anic law. The insurgents wished to proclaim Salím Efendi, a son of Sultán 'Abdu'l-Hamíd, as *Khalífa*. The revolt was put down and Shaykh Sa'íd was taken prisoner, tried as a rebel and executed. All the Takyas of the Order in the eastern vilayets were closed by order of the Turkish Government.¹

The Order of the *Qalandariyya*, or Wandering Darwishes, was founded in 1323 by 'Alí Yúsuf, Qalandari, a native of Spain. Being dismissed from the *Chistiyya* Order, he founded this new one. Its members are bound to live on charity, not to amass wealth for themselves and to be always on the move. They are practically *Súfís*. Their *Dhikr* is the usual one. The Qalandar Darwish is a well-known character in Eastern tales.

The *Bakhtáshíyya* Order was founded by Hájí Bakhtásh in 1357 and was famous in Turkey, owing

¹ See Toynbee, *Turkey*, p. 266 ; *Survey of International Affairs*, pp. 507-10. The Angora government has suppressed other Orders. From an orthodox Muslim standpoint Islám in Turkey, as represented by its rulers, seems to be tending towards rationalism, whilst the traditional form is kept up as an aid to the conservation of a spirit of nationalism.

but it has considerable influence in Morocco. It is an offshoot of the Shádhilíyya Order.

The Karzaníyya Order was founded in 1607 by a member of the Royal family of Morocco, who had been a Muqaddam of the Shádhilíyya Order. He taught his followers to reject reason as it was a guide to error, to place absolute confidence in the Shaykh, and to be ever ready to fight in the cause of God. The Order is widely spread in Morocco.

The Taybíyya Order was founded in 1679. The first Záwiyah was at Wazan. The second Shaykh was Mulai Tayb, from whom the Order takes its name. He made many converts from amongst the negroes, whom he then set free. It is essentially a political Order, devoted to the interests of the Moroccan empire. At the same time it has cultivated friendship with the French. Shaykh 'Abdu's-Salím married an English lady, and in 1876 vainly tried to become a French citizen. He did not oppose the entry of the French into Twat and their occupation of the surrounding country. Still, the ties of the Order are so strong with Morocco that a French writer says, 'We ought not to lose sight of the possibility of enormous difficulties to our interest from the Taybíyya Order in Algiers, Senegal and Morocco, should the Shaykh become hostile to our authority.'

The Hansalíyya Order was founded in 1702 by Sayyid Yúsufu'l-Hansalí, a man born in Morocco. He studied for a time in the Al-Azhar University in Cairo. He said that God had called him to his work in a direct revelation. The Order has much

The Darqáwíyya Order was founded by a Sharff of Morocco at the end of the eighteenth century. He advised his followers to abstain from worldly affairs, but they did not do so. The order became a political one, in great sympathy with the turbulent Berber tribes. Depont says, 'In all the rebellious movements in Algiers and Morocco, since the formation of this fraternity, we have found the hand of these frightful sectaries, these men in rags, these puritans of Islám, these frantic Darwishes.'¹

The Tijáníyya Order was founded in 1871 by Si Ahmad bin Mukhtár Tijání, who studied in the Muslim University at Fez. He made the pilgrimage to Mecca and astonished the theologians there by his erudition and knowledge. He found that Fez was a place too much given up to political and religious strife for the establishment of his Order there, and so he moved further south for that purpose. Earnest propaganda work was then carried on and the Order spread rapidly in Tunis, in the Šahará and the Western Súdán. The Order has been a militant² as well as a teaching one. One of its leaders, Hájí 'Umar went to the Hausa country and there reproached the ordinary Muslims with their ignorance. Even the Qádiríyya Darwishes were too tolerant for him. In their ascetic zeal they resembled the Wahhábís in Arabia. His influence extended as far as the hinterland of Sierra Leone.³ This Order has done more to spread

¹ Depont et Coppolani, *Les Confréries Religieuses Musulmanes*, p. 504.

² For an account of its wars, see Chatelet, *L'Islám dans L'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 167.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

kept up a spirit of restlessness. In some few places the members of the Order have been already absorbed in the still more dangerous one of the Sanúsiyya Order.

I have now given a brief description of some of the older and of some of the more modern Orders, which owe their existence to the great wave of religious revival which, stimulated by the Wahhábí movement in Arabia, passed on to the Muslim Confraternities in Africa and led to an active propaganda effort. Islám as a theocratic system does not recognize the limitations made by the political influences between the various Muslim peoples, dividing them into different States, and so these Orders, which are common to all lands, can at any time, and anywhere, exercise a very real influence in any direction which their leaders may choose.

For many centuries Islám has advanced not only on the northern coast of Africa, but has progressed in the interior. Still the great advance is to be dated from the end of the eighteenth century, or the beginning of the nineteenth, and has been mainly due to the increased energy and devotion of the Darwish Orders. Islám extended from two centres. From the west it went along the Atlantic coast to Senegal, Timbuktu and the Hausa land; from the eastern side the modern movement began when Si Aḥmad bin Idrís, the Shaykh of the Qádiríyya Order, sent out missionaries during the early part of the nineteenth century. They won over the Nubians who joined this Order in large numbers, and their missionary work began amongst the pagans of

few British Officers, with a small band of well-trained native troops, overthrew the powerful Fulah ruler and his followers. Sokoto was captured and the last descendant of Shaykh Danfodio, who sat on the throne of his fathers, perished. Fulah rule was so despotic and cruel that the country was largely depopulated; disorder, constant warfare and slave raiding were its marks. The consequent hatred of the people to their rulers made the British conquest possible. This rapid increase of Islám amongst pagan races is not to be looked upon as a permanent gain to civilization. It elevates a pagan race to a certain level; it puts away some vices, such as cannibalism and infanticide; but it teaches the converts that slavery, polygamy and facility of divorce are divine institutions, set forth in God's latest revelation and enforced by the command and example of his latest prophet. The convert is taught that this system is perfect and final, and he is thus fixed at a low level of moral life. Reform implies imperfection in Islám, and that no Darwish teacher will admit to be the case. The very pride of it which its converts feel when once they accept it keeps them stationary. Islám under Fulah rule failed to make to the pagan people happy, peaceful or prosperous, and its political power has justly come to the end.

The most recent and the most powerful Order is the Sanúsiyya, which is a strong opponent to all Western civilization. It was founded in 1791 by Si Muḥammad bin Si 'Alí bin Sanúsi, born in Algiers, where he spent the early years of his life. He claimed descent through Idrís from 'Alí. At Fèz

and Mecca were all ranged in opposition to him,¹ and so in 1855 he withdrew altogether from their influence and made his headquarters in the oasis of Jaghbúb, in the Libyan desert, midway between Egypt and Tripoli.² The Záwiyah there occupied a commanding position on one of the principle caravan routes. It was a fortress, a monastery and a theological school. It grew in importance after the conversion of the people of Wadai, of whom many came as students or as labourers. It was a place to which tributes of ivory, ostrich feathers and slaves were sent by many chiefs, and in which warlike materials were stored. Pilgrims on the way to Mecca halted there to worship at the tomb of the founder of the Sanúsiyya Order and to receive a blessing. Work now commenced amongst the negroes. He purchased slaves from the nomad Arabs, brought them to Jaghbúb, placed them under religious instruction and when they were fitted for it sent them as free

¹ A Muftí of the Málikí school (*madhab*) of jurisprudence published in Cairo a book containing fatvas denouncing the Sanúsi Shaykh, who was charged with neglecting the rites prescribed by the great Imáms, the founders of the four schools of law, and with the non-acceptance of the authorized commentaries on the Qur'án and the Sunna. The fatvas may have had some influence in Mecca and in Cairo, but they had none amongst the nomadic tribes of Tripoli and the Súdán. The principle fatva is given in full by Depont et Coppolani in *Les Confréries Religieuses Musalmanes*, pp. 446-51.

² The Italians landed on the Libyan coast in October 1911. The Sanúsi Shaykh, who controlled the oasis in the interior of Libya, objected, and when Italy took part in the Great War the Shaykh joined the Turks and entered into it. For a time their combined forces met with a considerable measure of success. After peace was declared acts of aggression still continued and the possession of Jaghbúb became a necessity to the Italians; so in 1925 Egypt consented to the inclusion of Jaghbúb within the frontier of the Italian possessions. Provision was made for the freedom of caravans to and fro from Jaghbúb from taxation, and for freedom of access to the founder's tomb by Muslim pilgrims. Thus the Sanúsi Shaykh, by his foolish intervention in the Great War, lost a place so intimately associated with the rise of the famous Sanúsi Order of Darwishes.

object was to restore the original Islám, as he conceived it to have been. This led him to oppose modern innovations in Turkish rule and life. His desire was to raise an impassable barrier against Western civilization and the influence of the Christian Powers in Muslim lands.

He was succeeded by his son, 'Alí bin Sanúsí, a lad of thirteen years of age. He is now known as the Shaykh'l-Mahdí. This name distinguishes him from his father. He assumed the administrative oversight of the Order whilst his brother Muḥammad Sharíf looked after the religious teaching. They were both very young, but their father had wisely appointed some of the ablest Muqaddams to be their leaders and guides. Muḥammad Sharíf died in 1895. His brother, the Shaykh'l-Mahdí is reported to have died in Kanen in 1902. His son-in-law Sayyid Aḥmad succeeded him.

The Grand Council of the Order met from time to time at Jaghbúb. One councillor was in special charge of the Jaghbúb Záwiyah. In 1886 there were no less than 121 different Záwiyahs, all subject to the mother house at Jaghbúb, in which there were about four hundred Darwishes, gathered from many lands, ready to go wherever sent and to do whatever was ordered to be done. The inmates of the Záwiyah were armed and supplied with warlike stores and some artillery. The Order was rich in slaves, houses, sheep and camels. By a system of couriers communication was kept up with the distant Záwiyahs and so the Shaykh was kept well informed of all that was going on. Travellers were received with suspicion and the privilege of an

State of Ennedi became a vassal one and all its inhabitants embraced Islám. The intelligent young men were sent to Jaghbúb to be fully trained under the personal direction of the Shaykh. The whole region round Lake Chad became more or less under Sanúsí influence. The large Záwiyah of Al-Istát in the Kufra oasis was second in importance to the one at Jaghbúb. It is situated in an almost unapproachable region and so in 1893 the Shaykh moved his headquarters to it. From a strategical point of view the place is important. Tripoli is now in the possession of the Italians, but their power does not extend far into the interior, the districts of which are in the hands of the Sanúsís.

The hatred of the Sanúsís to Muslims who submit to the political supremacy of the Christian Powers, or who would effect a compromise with Western civilization, was so great that good Muslims were exhorted to leave such countries as Turkey and Egypt. The Sanúsí Darwishes, in places where they are likely to meet opposition, assumed other names. In Turkey they appeared as members of the Qádiríyya Order, but their success there was small. In the Şahará they have been more successful. They commenced work in Morocco in 1877 and established Záwiyahs at Tangiers, Tetuan and Fez. There they sheltered themselves under the name of Darqáwíyya Order, with whose political views and tendencies they are in accord. They have many adherents among the Berber tribes. In 1873 they had gone as far as Senegal and Timbuktu with a view of winning the pagan people to Islám. In

any entanglements with worldly Powers. They declined to help Turkey against the Russians ; they refused to give any aid to Arabi Pasha's revolt or to the Mahdí in the Súdán. The Sanúsí Shaykh probably saw in the Mahdí, a member of the Qádiríyya Order, a possible rival, whose suppression would materially strengthen his own position. With this policy of aloofness was combined the encouragement of emigration from other lands to lands where Western civilization had not yet penetrated. In this way it was thought that the true believers might be gathered together and freed from the influence of the Christian Powers, and the scarcely less hated rule of the Sultán of Turkey and the Khedive of Egypt, who had not been able to resist the influence of modern civilization. The desert life, isolated from contaminating influence, was the ideal one.¹ The Sanúsís were thus enemies not only of the Christians but of the Turks also. The motto of the Order was, 'The Turks and the Christians are in the same category ; we will destroy them both with the same blow.'² They were, however, drawn into the Great War, and on the side of their old enemy the Turks.³ The landing of the Italians on the Libyan coast in 1911 roused the anger of the Sanúsís, and when in 1915 the Italians joined the Allies in the war against Turkey, the

¹ 'The desert is the natural home for the contemplative religious life, and in the oases will be found masses of men, adepts in Sífí mysticism.' Cooksey, *The Land of the Vanished Church*, p. 63.

² الترك والنصارى لكل فى رمزة نفضهم فى مرة

³ In 1910 the young Turks solicited their aid in a pan-Islámic campaign. They held aloof for the claims of the Khaífá had no harm for them. They entered the war when the Italians came into it,

of the Order. He had long been an aspirant to that office, but now has to be content with the spiritual oversight of the Order, for all hope of territorial aggrandizement has passed away.

The oasis of Jaghbúb contains the tomb of the founder of the Order and, 'when the Sanúsiyya Fraternity entered the lists against Italy, as it did after the outbreak of the Great War of 1914-18, it became a matter of some importance for Italy to bring within the recognized frontiers of her North African dominions a place, which, though insignificant in itself, was one of the religious centres of the Sanúsi Power.'¹ After numerous delays in settling the frontiers between Egypt and the Italian possessions, an agreement was reached in December, 1925 and Jaghbúb was recognized by the Egyptian Government as an Italian possession.²

When the question of the appointment of a new Khalífa was first mooted at Mecca, the Sanúsi Shaykh, Sayyid Aḥmad, hurried thither hoping that the Khalífate might be bestowed upon him. His chances of election were fairly good, for he was now friendly with the Turks, his prestige as a fighter for Islám was high and there were several Sanúsiyya Záwiyahs in the Ḥijáz; but he foolishly advocated pilgrimages to the tomb of the wives of the Prophet. This was too much for Ibn Sa'úd's iconoclastic zeal and Sayyid Aḥmad was forthwith sent about his business in disgrace and with hopes unfulfilled.

The reason for the founding of new Orders, such

¹ Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs*, pp. 185-6.

² For a full account of the war against the Sanúsís, see the *Foreign Office Handbook, Libya*, pp. 18-30.

but of a well-considered design, contrived with no less a purpose than that of remedying the shortcomings of the Arab race, and of checking before it is too late the insidious processes of decay.'¹

In 1925 there was a Kurdish revolt in which members of the religious Orders were suspected of having taken part. In fact the Shaykh of the Naqshbandíyya Order was the leader of the revolt. He was defeated, captured and, with forty of his companions, nine of whom were Shaykhs, was executed. An order was also passed for the closing of all the Darwish Záwiyahs in the Eastern Vilayets. The government now realized that the Darwishes were determined enemies to reforms.

So in September 2, 1925, the Angora Government passed three administrative decrees. 'The first one closed all religious homes (Záwiyahs) and abolished the religious Orders in Turkey; prohibited individuals from living as members of Orders and from wearing the costumes or bearing the titles connected therewith; closed all chapels (musjids) attached to religious houses and all mausoleums and abolished the office of custodians of such establishments.'² In the Ottoman Empire the Darwishes no longer find any home.

From this sketch of these important movements and of the part played by the great Darwish Orders in the propagation of Islám, especially in Africa, it will be seen how urgent is the call to Mission work in that great continent, lest before the Gospel can reach the pagan races they should be converted to

¹ Toynbee, *The Survey of International Affairs*, p. 277

² *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

VI

THE QUR'ÁN

IT is said that God chose the sacred month of Ramaḍán in which to give all the revelations that in the form of books have been given to mankind. Thus on the first night of that month the books of Abraham came down from heaven; on the sixth, the books of Moses; on the thirteenth, the Injíl or Gospel; and on the twenty-seventh, the Qur'án. On that night, the Laylatu'l-Qadr, or 'night of power,' the whole Qur'án is said to have descended to the lowest of the seven heavens, from whence it was brought by the angel Gabriel to Muḥammad as occasion required. 'Verily, we have caused it (the Qur'án) to descend on the night of power' (Súratu'l-Lail xcii. 1). 'The Qur'án,' says Ibn Khaldún, 'was sent from heaven in the Arab tongue, and in a style conformable to that in which the Arabs were wont to express their thoughts. It was revealed phrase by phrase, verse by verse, as it was needed, whether for manifesting the doctrine of the Unity of God, or for expounding the obligations to which men ought to submit in this world. In the one case we have the proclamation of the dogmas of faith; in the other the prescriptions which regulate the actions of men.'¹

The night on which the Qur'án descended is

¹ *Les Prolégomènes d'ibn Khaldún* (de Slane's translation, ed. Paris 1863), vol. ii, p. 458.

angel which had formerly appeared to him. Much agitated, he rushed home and called upon Khadíja to cover him with a cloth. She did so and then God revealed the Súratu'l-Muddaththir lxxiv, which commences thus, 'O thou, enwrapped in thy mantle, arise and warn.' According to Bukhárí the steady and regular flow of the revelation of the Qur'án then commenced, or, as he puts it, 'inspiration became warm' (*fahamiya al-wahí*).¹

The following verses refer to the revelation of the Qur'án. 'We have sent down to thee an Arabic ² Qur'án' (Súratu Ṭá Há xx. 112). 'Verily from the Lord of the world hath this book come down; the faithful spirit (Rúḥu'l-Ámín) hath come down with it' (Súratu'sh-Shu'ará' xxvi. 193); also 'The Qur'án is no other than a revelation revealed to him, one terrible in power (Shadídu'l-Qawá) caught it to him' (Súratu'n-Najm liii. 5). 'The Holy Spirit (Rúḥu'l-Quds) hath brought it down with truth from the Lord' (Súratu'n-Nahl xvi. 104). The terms mentioned in these verses are said to refer to Gabriel, and this view is confirmed by a verse in a late Madína Súra which reads as follows: 'Say, whoso is the enemy of Gabriel, for he it is who by God's leave hath caused the Qur'án to descend on thy heart' (Súratu'l-Baqara ii. 91). The words in Súratu'l-Qiyámat lxxv. 18, 'when we have recited, then follow thou the recital,' show

¹ *Saḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, vol. i, p. 6.

² Yet Jalálu'd-Dīn As-Syūfī in the *Mutawakkil* mentions one hundred and seven foreign words. Al-Kindi in his apology refers to this fact as a defect either in the messenger, or in the message. 'If there be in the Arabic language no words to express the ideas, then the medium of communications, and therefore the message itself, is imperfect; if otherwise, the messenger?' *Apology of Al-Kindi*, translated by Muir, p. 30.

the Qur'án, they could not produce its like' (Súratu Bani Isrá'íl xvii. 19). 'If they shall say, "The Qur'án is his own device," say, "Then bring ten Súras like it of your devising"' (Súratu Húd xi. 10). 'If ye be in doubt as to that which we have sent down to our servant, then produce a Súra like it' (Súratu'l-Baqara ii. 21).

Muslims now say that no Arab could produce any thing like the Qur'án. If this refers to the subject matter of the book, obviously the Quraysh could not do so, for they did not believe in its dogmas; then, as no one could reproduce the individuality of Muḥammad, stamped upon his book, he could safely challenge any one to produce its like. If the superiority claimed lies in the form and expression, then, if we examine the Qur'án by the rules of rhetoric and criticism accepted by Muslim scholars, we shall see that the Qur'án is a perfect model, for the principles of rhetoric are drawn from it.¹ It is looked upon as the perfect standard and unapproachable, so obviously no composition could surpass or even equal it in the eyes of such judges. There is not, however, a consensus of opinion as to wherein the superiority consists. Some authorities say it lies in its eloquence, or in its subject matter, or in the harmony of its parts. Anyhow, its alleged superiority over all other books is held to be a proof

¹ 'Al-Mukaffa, Al-Mutanabbí and a few others, who did not hold very orthodox opinions, assayed in some of their writings to surpass the style of the Qur'án, but their attempt was naturally considered to be a failure. Were we to examine the Qur'án by the rules of rhetoric and criticism as they are taught in Muslim schools, we should be obliged to acknowledge that it is the perfection of thought and exposition; an inevitable result as the Muslims drew their principles of rhetoric from that very book.' De Slane in the Introduction to Ibn Khallikan's *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. i, p. 17.

destroyed because it exists in Divine knowledge (*Holy Qur'án*, p. 943). This comment ignores the fact of the term being used for the origin of other books besides the Qur'án, and so the impossibility of their destruction. We are not told in which language the Ummu'l-Kitáb was written, but if, as Ḥusayn and Baidáwí say, it is the original of *all* the heavenly books, it could scarcely have been in Arabic. Again, if, as coming from it, the Qur'án cannot be destroyed, so all the other heavenly books which proceed from the same source must be 'safe from change,' and the Taurát and the Injíl must also 'exist in the Divine knowledge and remain for ever as authoritative revelations.'

The Qur'án is often praised for the emphasis it lays on the doctrine of the Unity of God, but it has been well said that, 'there is no charm in the abstract doctrine of the unity of God to elevate mankind. The essential point is the character attributed to the One God. In Islám the knowledge of God is a fixed quantity revealed in a book, the mind of man has no capacity to understand it.'¹ Speaking of the attributes of God as stated in the Qur'án, Professor Gwatkin says, 'They tell us nothing of the character behind them; so far as these (first) four go they might be an almighty evil.'² There are ninety-nine names of God, called 'the most excellent names' (Al-asmá'u'l-Ḥusna), but amongst them the name of Father is not found. Man must ever be to God in the relation of a slave; in Islám he can never attain to the dignity and

¹ Osborn, *Islám under the Arabs*, p. 7.

² *The Knowledge of God*, vol. ii, p. 120.

other events which God foreknew. To make finite historical matters part of the eternal, living attributes of God is to associate the finite with the essence of the infinite God. And so the controversy went on.¹

The Šifátians, according to Shahristání, 'taught that the attributes of God are eternally inherent in His essence, without separation or change. Each attribute is conjoined with Him as life with knowledge, or knowledge with power.'² The Asha'rians somewhat modified that view. They said that the attributes of God are distinct from His essence, yet in such a way as to forbid any comparison being made between God and His creatures. They say that the attributes are neither 'ain nor ghair, that is, not of His essence nor distinct from it. The Mu'tazilís took a different view altogether. They say that 'God is eternal, and that eternity is the peculiar property of His essence; but they deny the existence of any eternal attributes (as distinct from His nature). Knowledge, power, life are part of His essence; otherwise, if they are to be looked upon as eternal attributes of the Deity, it will give rise to a multiplicity of eternal entities.'³

We shall now see how this dispute, this difference of opinion, is connected with the Qur'án. The seventh attribute of Kalám, or speech, is thus defined: 'God speaks, but not with a tongue as men do. He speaks to some of His servants without the intervention of another, even as He spoke to

¹ See an interesting discussion on this question in Gairdner's *Inspiration*, pp. 30-3. It is published by the C.L.S.

² *Milal wa'n-Nihál*, p. 67.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

all eternity. The Qur'án is the uncreated word of God.' Thus these divines looked upon the Qur'án as the eternal Word inherent in God's essence.

Now against all this the Mu'tazilís bring the following objections:¹ (1) The Qur'án is written in Arabic, it descended, is read, is heard and is written. It is divided into parts and some verses are abrogated by others. (2) Events are described in the past tense, but, if the Qur'án had been eternal, the future tense would have been used. (3) The Qur'án contains commands and prohibitions; if it is eternal who were commanded and who were admonished. (4) If it existed from eternity, it must exist to eternity, and so even in the last Day and in the next world men will be under the obligation of performing the same religious duties as they do now, and of keeping all the outward precepts of the Law. (5) If the Qur'án is eternal, then there are two eternals. (6) Men can produce its like in eloquence and arrangement. A man, named Nadír ibn Háritha, was bold enough to accept the challenge, and arranged some stories of the Persian kings in chapters and Súras and recited them. He is evidently alluded to in Súratu Luqmán xxxi. 5 in the following words, 'A man² there is who brings an idle tale, that in his lack of knowledge he may mislead others from the way of God and turn it to scorn. For such is prepared a shameful punishment.' This proved to be the case. Nadír was taken

¹ For fuller details, see *Takmilu'l-Islám*, p. 60 and '*Aqá'id-i-Jámí*, p. 83.

² Baidáwí, *Tafsír*, vol. ii, p. 119, and Husayn, *Tafsír*, vol. i, p. 183, identify this man as Nadír.

his information from the Talmudic Literature,¹ made known to him by the Jews, his friends at Mecca, and to the Apocryphal Gospels. The following are some examples of information thus gained.

There is a great similarity between the importance given in orthodox Judaism to the Oral Law, believed to have been handed down by tradition from Moses, and the importance attached to the Sunna, the Oral Law of Islám, based on the traditional accounts of the Prophet's words and deeds. In both communities, the Oral Law is held to be divinely inspired, and to be authoritative in matters of faith and practice. 'Hence, too, sprung the idea, so deeply rooted among Muslims, that obedience to the latter, which they held to be God's law, will atone for sin.'²

Rabbi Jehudah relates how, after the Fall, the Angels said, 'Sovereign of the world, what is man that thou takest knowledge of him. He is altogether vanity.' The LORD replied that he too uttered praise and called on them to name the animals. They could not, then Adam stood up and did so. In Súratu'l-Baqara ii. 28-32 this event is related in almost the same words, to which, however, is added the command to the angels to bow down and worship Adam which all did except Iblís.

In the Midrashim the burial of Abel is thus related. His dog guarded the corpse and Adam did

¹ The Babylonian Gemara was finished about the year A.D. 530; the Jerusalem Gemara in A.D. 539 and the Mishnah about A.D. 200; so all these would be well known to the Jews in Arabia.

² Tisdall, *The Religion of the Crescent*, p. 161.

holes with their feet. Then the Holy One so heated the waters that their feet were burnt. In Súratu'l-Mu'minún xxiii. 28 it is said in connection with these men who mocked Noah that 'The earth's surface *boiled up*' and in Súratu Húd xi. 42 it is said that 'until the sentence came to pass, and the earth's surface *boiled up*.' It was a Rabbinical notion that the generation of the Deluge was punished by hot water; the Qur'án adopted the Rabbinical view.

Abraham is said to have been brought out of Ur of the Chaldees (Gen. xv. 7). Now Ur also means fire, and is so translated in Isa. xlv. 16. The legend is that he was cast into a fiery furnace. The Qur'án gives the legend in a slightly different form, but accepts it, and, after describing Abraham's trial, represents his judges as saying to the fire, 'burn him,' and describes God as saying, 'O fire! be thou cold and to Abraham a safety!' Súratu'l-Anbiyá' xxi. 68-9.

In the Midrash of Rabbi Eliezer an account of the command to sacrifice Isaac is given and many curious details are added to the simple Scripture account. A ram¹ came running by and Abraham offered up the ram instead of Isaac. In the *Book of Jubilees* xvii a similar account is given. The incident is referred in the Qur'án in Súratu's-Şaffát xxxvii. 100-9. It is there said that Isaac was 'ransomed with a costly victim.' The *Tafsír-i-Husayni* says that this refers to the ram which Abel had offered in sacrifice, and that it was now again

¹ For legends about this ram see my *Talmud, Mishnah and Midrash*, p. 38.

acknowledge their borrowings from Rabbinical Judaism.

In *Chagigah* xvi. 1, we read that 'the demons learn by listening behind the veil what is revealed in heaven to the angels.' In *Berechoth* vi. 1 a long account is given of the activities of the demons and how they worry and annoy the Rabbis. Now this idea of the listening by angels and demons has found a place in Muslim theology. A tradition (*ḥadīth*), recorded on the authority of 'Áyishā, states that evil angels listen and hear the orders given to the good angels, and then give the information gathered to the magicians. The tradition is apparently based on the Qur'án, which again is based on Rabbinical statements. Thus in *Súratu'l-Hijr* xv. 26-8 we read, 'We have set the signs of the Zodiac in the heavens . . . and we guard them from every stoned Satan, save such as steal a hearing, and him doth a visible flame pursue,' and also 'We have adorned the lower heavens with the adornment of the stars, they also serve as a guard against every rebellious Satan that they overhear not what passeth in the assembly on high.' *Súratu's-Saffát* xxxvii. 6-9.¹ The signs of the Zodiac keep away the prying demons, the Talmudic story about whom was evidently well known to the Prophet. The idea of a 'stoned Satan' is kept alive in the ceremony of the *Hajj*, known as the *Ramy'l-jamr*, the casting of stones at three pillars, representing three great devils.

In the *Book of Jubilees* it is said that the Law,

¹ See *The Faith of Islám* (4th ed.), p. 408.

behold! the days come and the books shall be opened on which are written the sins of those who have sinned, and again also the treasures in which the righteousness of all those who have been righteous in creation is gathered.' The Apocalyptic books were known to the Jews at Madína and so this idea may have been passed on. We find the same idea in the Qur'án. The deeds of men are said to be entered in books which will be produced at the Last Day. Then 'He into whose right hand his book shall be given, shall be reckoned with an easy reckoning, and he whose book shall be given behind his back (that is, into his left hand) shall invoke destruction' Súratu'l-Inshiqáq lxxxiv. 8-11.

In *The Testament of Abraham* mention is made of two recording angels; so in the Qur'án we read of two fierce angels. Munkar and Nakír, who visit every man in his grave and examine him with regard to his faith in God and in Muḥammad.¹ Muslims look forward with great dread to this ordeal. The poet Ma'arrí contrasts with it the happy state of the Hindus thus:—

The Hindus who cremate their dead and never visit
them again,

Win peace from straitness of the grave, and ordeals
from the angels twain.²

The Apocryphal Gospels are made much use of in narrating the history of the Virgin Mary, who is confused with Miriam, the sister of Aaron. In Súratu Áli 'Imrán iii. 39 we read, 'To thee (Muḥammad) do we reveal it, for thou wast not with them when they cast lots with reeds which of them should

¹ Súratu Muḥammad xlvii. 29 is said to refer to these angels.

² Nicholson, *Studies in Islāmic Poetry*, p. 138.

For an account of the immaculate conception of Jesus, see Súratu'l-Anbiyá' xxi. 91; Súratu Áli 'Imrán iii. 52.¹

The material gained from Jewish Apocalyptic literature may have come partly through Christian channels, for after the Fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 the Jews paid less attention to the Apocalypses,² the books of which were preserved by the Christian Church, and it was in popular rather than in official Christianity that Apocalyptic was really alive. So it was easy for Muḥammad to gather some notions of it from Christians in Arabia, with whom at first, at least, he was friendly.

In addition to the material collected from Rabbinical sources, we also find credence given to legends in no way connected with the previous Scriptures. The fable of the Seven Sleepers and the story of the meeting of Moses with Al-Khidr, who is supposed to have lived in the time of Abraham, are given in Súratu'l-Kahf xviii. 8-27, 64-81. All the principal Muslim commentators say that, though his name is not mentioned in the Qur'án, Al-Khidr is the servant referred to in v. 64. These were popular stories in the East, and are now reproduced as part of a divine revelation.

'The biblical lore of the Prophet is a truly marvellous farrago. It is very difficult to discern with any certainty where he got it; probably he hardly knew himself, a bit here, and a bit there;

Christian legends, see article *The Muḥammadan Agrapha* in *The Expository Times* for January and February, 1928.

¹ For the views of Muslim commentators confirming the doctrine, see *The Historical Development of the Qur'án* (4th ed.), p. 40.

² See my *The Apocalypses*, p. 152, note 2.

Sayyid Amír 'Alí says, 'The Húrís are creatures of Zoroastrian origin, so is paradise, whilst hell in the severity of its punishment is Talmudic.'¹ Maulavi Muḥammad 'Alí, a Qádiáni commentator, in a note on Súratu't-Túr lii. 20 says that 'damsels with large dark eyes' (Húrín 'Ainin) means 'pure beautiful ones,' and that they are plurals of words which apply also to men, to qualities and good deeds; that they refer to the 'heavenly blessings, which righteous women shall enjoy with righteous men.' 'Womenhood stands for a symbol of purity and beauty,' and so as 'purity of character and the beautiful deeds of the righteous' are here referred to, these 'blessings are described in words which apply to women.'² It is a clever apology but not orthodox nor convincing.

The notion of the Light of Muḥammad, the Núr-i-Muḥammadi, is important in connection with Shí'ah claims (ante p. 70). It is not clear whether the words 'Fain would they put out God's light with their mouths' (Súratu't-Tauba ix. 32) refer to the Núr-i-Muḥammadi. In the *Khulāṣatu't-Tafāsír* it is said that this is a proof that the light of Muḥammad and the religion of Aḥmad are permanent. The traditions refer to it. The idea is clearly Zoroastrian. In the Pahlavi *Minūkḥind* and the *Khashīta* a similar description is given of the light of Jamshed.³

Aṣ-Ṣirát, or the bridge, is referred to in the following verses, 'If we pleased we would surely

¹ *Spirit of Islām*, p. 394.

² Maulavi Muḥammad 'Alí, *Holy Qur'án*, p. 1009.

³ For the original text see *Yanābī'u'l-Islām*, p. 211.

had no direct acquaintance with Jewish History.¹ Some prophets and apostles he ignored altogether and to meet any charge of lack of knowledge a revelation came. 'We sent down apostles before you : there are some of them that we have mentioned to you, and there are others whom we have not mentioned to you' (Súratu'l-Mú'min xl. 78). Under the terms of Tabút (Ark), Taurat, Jannátu 'Adn, Jahannam, Abhár, Darasa, Taghút (error), Furqán,¹ Má'ún and Malakát, all derived from Rabbinical Hebrew, Rabbi Geiger shows how all the conceptions associated with these words have passed from Judaism into Islám. His demonstration of the great debt Islám owes to Rabbinical Judaism is complete and convincing. In Súratu'l-Furqán xxv. 6 we read, 'The Infidels say : "The Qur'án is a mere fraud of his own devising, and others have helped him with it."' Baidáwí on this verse says that by 'others' the Jews are meant.

In three places (Súras ii. 59 ; v. 73 ; xxii. 17) the Šábi'ín are associated with Jews and Christians as

¹ The Qur'án is named Qur'ánu Sharíf, noble Qur'án ; Qur'ánu Majíd, glorious Qur'án ; Muṣḥaf, the Book ; the Furqán. The latter term occurs most frequently in the Madína Súras in the general sense of illumination, a revelation. Some commentators argue from this that the earlier sacred books were to be interpreted by the Qur'án, which being a Furqán, could explain or illuminate them. Such a view ignores the fact that in Súratu'l-Baqara ii. 50 and in Súratu'l-Anbíyá' xxi. 49 the name Furqán is given to the Law of Moses. Rabbi Geiger has shown (in *Judaism and Islám*, p. 41) that the idea of illumination, or interpretation is not the primary meaning of Furqán, which is rather that of redemption or deliverance. In Súratu'l-Anfál viii. 42 the day of the battle of Badr is called 'the day of the Furqán,' that is, the day of separation, or decision. Nöldeke considers that the Arabic root furq (فرق) to separate, influenced the meaning of Furqán. It is derived from the Hebrew word faraq in the sense of deliverance (Ps. cxxxvi. 24). A similar Syriac word is púrgána, or salvation. The Prophet evidently borrowed the word and adapted it to his own purpose as indicating that in his opinion the Qur'án was a deliverance, redemption, salvation ; or separation of truth from error. See *The Historical Development of the Qur'án*, p. 114.

Testament quoted in the Qur'án is ' Since the Law was given, have we written in the Psalms that my servants, " the righteous, shall inherit the earth " ' ¹ (Súratu'l-'Anbiyá' xxi. 105).

In Súratu'l-A'ráf vii. 156, 158 Muḥammad is called the Nabí'l-Ummí, which Muslims generally translate as the ' Unlettered Prophet ' and say that he could not read or write. From this the conclusion is drawn that, as he could not have written such an eloquent book as the Qur'án, it must be the words of God and not his statements ; a divine and not a human composition.

The Arabic phrase Nabí'l-Ummí ² bears on this question. In Súratu'l-Baqara ii. 73 we read ' and amongst them (Jews) are illiterates (ummiyyún), who are unacquainted with the Book, but with lies only ; ' that is, they did not know the Scriptures. The term Ummí applied to the Prophet would thus mean that he had no previous knowledge of the Bible. It does not mean that, in the general sense of the term, he was an ignorant man. In a comment on Súratu'l-'Ankabút xxix. 47 a Qádiáni commentator says that ' Muḥammad had never read the Scriptures of any religion ' and ' had not read even a single book, ' and goes on to argue that in this respect he was superior to all other prophets and teachers, and that the source from which ' the teaching was drawn was far above the knowledge possessed by any human being. ' (*Holy Qur'án*, p. 784.) It may be admitted that it makes him different to other great teachers, but how ignorance can make him superior is extremely difficult to understand.

¹ Ps. xxxvii. 29.

² النبي الامي

he ignores the principal dogmas of the Christian Church. . . . Yet the influence of Christianity upon Muḥammad's vocation was very great; without the Christian idea of the final scene of human history, of the Resurrection of the dead and the Last Judgement, Muḥammad's mission would have had no meaning.'¹

The number of foreign words is very great. They are borrowed from many languages. In the *Mutawakkil* by Jalálu'd-Dín as-Syúṭi one hundred and seven foreign words are enumerated and commented on. This valuable book has been translated by W. Y. Bell, Yale University. The Arabic text is also given.² It incidentally shows how many ideas have been borrowed.

Tisdall in *The Religion of the Crescent* (p. 174), has an interesting note on the word *dín* (دين) meaning religion as coming from the word *daèna* in the *Avesta*, where it means law, doctrine, religion. In the phrase 'day of judgement' (Súratu'l-Fátiḥa i. 3) the word *dín* comes from a Semitic root meaning to judge. The Hebrew form also is *dín* in Ps. lxxvi. 9. Bell in *The Origin of Islām in its Christian Environment* gives much useful information on this subject. He says of Muḥammad that 'He had rather a liking for introducing unfamiliar words some of which he explains, others of which he leaves unexplained, a certain obscurity being appropriate to a divine revelation' (p. 51). He also shows how Aramaic and Abyssinian words used by Christians have been borrowed.

¹ *Mohammedanism*, p. 33.

² It is printed by the Nile Mission Press, Cairo.

in which he saw the Prophet, who said, 'Give my greeting to Thálab and say to him, "Thou art master of the superior science."' This settled the matter and henceforth the study of grammar became a most praiseworthy occupation. We have already dealt with some of its details and so may pass on to consider the second class of literature the exegetical.

The Companions of the Prophet were believed to be perfectly acquainted with the interpretation of the Qur'án.¹ This knowledge they passed on orally to their successors, the Tábi'ún, who passed it to the next generation the Taba'u't-Tábi'ún. The duty of a commentator was to reproduce this information, taking care that the isnád, or chain of authorities for a given statement, was sound. According to the commentators the dogmatic theology of Islám falls under two heads, uşúl and farú', that is, roots and branches. The former includes the doctrine about God; the latter consists of truths which result from the acceptance of the former. Reason has only to do with the farú'. The verses of the Qur'án are divided into two classes—the perspicuous, and the figurative. The authority for this division is found in Súratu Áli 'Imrán iii. 5, which reads thus: 'He it is who

¹ Of these the most famous were (1) Abú ibn Ka'b, called 'The Master of the Qur'án Readers.' (2) Ibn Mas'úd, a combatant at Badr. He had charge of the shoes and toothpick of the Prophet. He learnt the correct way of reciting the Qur'án from the Prophet himself. (3) Abú Músa'u'l-Ash'arí also received and wrote down the Qur'án from Muḥammad's dictation. His voice was so sweet and musical that Muḥammad compared it to the soft strains of the harp of David. (4) Abú'l-Durda, called 'The Wise among the Readers.' He became a judge in Damascus and each morning collected a large number of people in the Mosque and taught them the correct way of reciting the Qur'án.

the way to a fearless investigation of subjects which all the early Muslim avoided as beyond their province. Inquiries into the nature of God and His attributes were not lawful. The Prophet said, 'Think of God's gifts, not of His nature; you have no power for that.'¹ Men should mistrust their own perceptive powers and should obey the inspired legislator, Muḥammad, who had revealed all that was sufficient for them to know and to do. In the early days of Islám it was held that all parts of the Qur'án, except the muḥkam verses and the purely narrative portions, were mutashábih, a term which includes all verses which referred to the attributes of God, to the existence of angels and genii, to the appearance of Antichrist, to the period and signs of the Judgement Day, and generally to all matters beyond the daily experience of mankind. It was strongly felt that not only must there be no discussion on them, but no attempt should be made to understand or to act on them. Ibn 'Abbás, a Companion, said, 'One must believe the mutashábih verses, but not take them for a rule of conduct.' 'Áyisha said, 'Avoid those persons who dispute about the meaning of the Qur'án, for they are those whom God has referred to in the words, "Whose hearts are given to err."'

The first reading which puts the full stop after God is the one accepted by the Aṣháb, the Tábi'ún and the Taba'u't-Tábi'ún (the Companions, their successors and their followers) and the great

¹ This is the Jewish view. 'The Rabbis do not inculcate metaphysical notions or dogmatic teachings concerning the divine nature.' Lazarus, *The Ethics of Judaism*, vol. i, p. 114.

world of thought also, and so leads to agnosticism. The orthodox theologians saw the difficulty made by this dogma, and so they say that all anthropomorphic expressions, such as sitting and rising, face and hands and so on are *mutashábih* and that their meaning is known only to God. They cannot even be discussed for, according to a tradition, 'argument about the nature of God is blasphemy.'¹ The doctrine of *tanzíh* has been so exaggerated that the Muslim idea of the immanence of God is defective, though *Ṣúffism* is a revolt against the orthodox view. Islám thus gives no clear and adequate view of the nature of God as both transcendent and immanent.

The prevalent explanation of Muḥammad's teaching on the Qur'án is that Gabriel brought it down from heaven and taught the Prophet the exact words of it, which he then made known to the Companions, his immediate followers. According to this view, accepted by the orthodox in all ages, neither the words nor the doctrine are Muḥammad's, and so the book is above all criticism.

The Arabic arrangement of the contents of the Qur'án in its one hundred and fourteen Súras² or chapters, is so confused that it conveys no idea whatever of the growth of any plan in the mind of the Prophet. As a general rule the shorter Súras,

Maker, the Fashioner, commentators explain that no nearness of the Creator to the creature is implied in these names.' Holmes, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 140.

¹ Al-baḥāth 'an *dhāttu'llāh* kufr. See also *The Faith of Islām* (4th ed.), pp. 238-9 and notes for the opinion of Muslim theologians.

² The word is generally supposed to be derived from the Hebrew *Shura*, a row, or arrangement. Another possible derivation is the Aramaic *Sūratā*, which is used in the sense of a writing, and for a portion of Scripture.

Still the later Súras, on the whole, are tedious. It has been well said that, 'if it were not for the exquisite flexibility of the Arabic language itself, which, however, is to be attributed more to the age in which the author lived than to his individuality, it would be scarcely bearable to read the second portion of the Qur'án a second time. . . . But, for the rich eloquence of the old Arabic tongue, which gives charm even to inextricable sentences and dull stories, the Qur'án at this period would be unreadable.'¹

The divisions of the Qur'án, the nature and number of its verses and of its words, and the variety of its sentences form too technical a subject to deal with here.² Maulavi Muḥammad 'Alí, a Qádiáni commentator, asserts that the whole Qur'án was committed to writing in the Prophet's lifetime, and that the present arrangements of chapters and verses was made under the Prophet's own superintendence.³ If this be so, it is difficult to understand why the recensions of Abú Bakr and of 'Uṭhmán were necessary. It is impossible to conceive that so capable a person as Muḥammad would have left his book in so unintelligible a form. We prefer to accept the view of the great theologian Jalálu'd-Dín As-Syúṭī that the book does need rearranging and that its contents should be placed in proper historical order.

The Prophet was reproached for not possessing a complete revelation and answered the reproach thus:

¹ Stanley Lane-Poole, *Selections from the Koran*, pp. cv, cvi.

² On this technical subject see *The Faith of Islām* (4th ed.), pp. 84-99.

³ Maulavi Muḥammad 'Alí, *Holy Qur'án*, pp. xxx-xlii.

there be no compulsion in religion '¹ (Súratu'l-Baqara ii. 257). 'Verily, those who believe (Muslims) and they who follow the Jewish religion, and Christians, and the Šabians—whosoever of them believeth in God and the Last Day and doeth that which is right will have their reward with their Lord '² (Súratu'l-Baqara ii. 59). Later on, when circumstances changed, we are told that 'whoso desireth any other religion than Islám it shall not be accepted of him and in the next world he shall be of those who perish' (Súratu 'Áli 'Imrán iii. 79). This is said to abrogate all verses which enjoin attention to previous Scriptures. Again, 'O ye who believe take not the Jews and Christians as your friends' (Súratu'l-Má'ida v. 56). Another instance of a change of action, requiring a second revelation, 'according to the circumstances,' is the change of the Qibla from Jerusalem to Mecca.

The doctrine of abrogation is founded on the verses 'When we change one verse for another, and God knoweth the best which He revealeth' (Súratu'n-Nahl xvi. 103) and 'Whatever verses we cancel or cause thee to forget, we give thee better

¹ According to Muslim commentators this does not lay down a general principle of toleration. It is said to refer to two lads who were led astray by a Syrian fire-worshipper. Their father wished to restrain them, but Muḥammad would not allow him to interfere. As regards Jews, Šabians and Christians there is to be no interference so long as they pay the jizya, or poll-tax; as regards the Arabs, the commentator Ḥusayn says that the verse is abrogated by the 'verse of the killing,' which reads thus, 'Kill them wherever ye find them' (Súratu'l-Baqara ii. 187). Baidáwí says the verse 'O Prophet, contend against the infidels and hypocrites and be rigorous with them' (Súratu't-Tauba ix. 74) abrogates the milder verse. For the original authorities for the above, see *The Historical Development of the Qur'án*, pp. 175-6.

² For Muslim views, see Op. cit. (4th ed.), pp. 77-8. Baidáwí says that the words 'doeth what is right' mean 'enter Islám with sincere entrance.'

STUDIES IN ISLAM

By
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The various portions which now form the Qur'án were recited by the Prophet during a period of twenty-three years, but were not collected into a book during his life-time. Individual hearers wrote down passages on palm leaves or on other materials. The great store-house of the Qur'án was also the marvellous memory of the Arab people. It was an act of great reverence to recite portions at each act of worship and its committal to memory was an act of great merit. A collection was then made.

Zayd was assisted by Anas bin Málík and others and the work whilst in progress was superintended by 'Umar, who, it is said, accepted nothing as part of the Qur'án which had not been written down and which was not testified to by two persons. A case in point is the stoning verse, 'The married man and the married woman when they commit adultery then stone them without doubt.' 'Umar said he could not vouch for this, but that he would have inserted it had he not feared that he might be charged with having added something to the Qur'án. He himself knew the verse, but could not find corroborative testimony.² The punishment decreed in the Qur'án

¹ *Mishkátu'l-Musábih*, Book 1. A list of the abrogated and the abrogating verses is given by Hughes in his *Dictionary of Islám*, p. 520.

² See Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, p. 194. Margoliouth states that 'Áyisha said that this verse, in which stoning was enjoined as a punishment for adultery, was on a slip (of parchment) deposited under her bed and was afterwards lost. *Mohammad*, p. 219.

In commenting on Súratu'l-Má'ida v. 18, in which the Jews are charged with concealing their Scriptures, Husayn and Baidáwí say

this, Zayd ibn Thábit, an intelligent young man, was requested to do the work, which after some hesitation he did. When it was completed one copy came into the possession of Hafaṣa, a daughter of 'Umar and a widow of the Prophet. This recension was the accepted copy for ten years, when it was superseded by 'Uthman's recension. Still, though no copies are now extant, it was of great importance, as it formed the basis of the revised edition. Zayd apparently from day to day heard verses recited, and received, on the testimony of two witnesses, some verses which had been written down by those who heard the Prophet deliver them. One day it would be an inhabitant of Mecca, another day a man of Madína. All these verses were mixed up together, regardless of chronological order. Zayd, though lacking in historical insight, seems in his task to have exercised care, but he put the various passages together without much regard to their sense, or to their historical order; still, if his intellectual faculty was slight, his honesty of purpose may be admitted.

The people, however, went on reciting the Qur'án as they had been accustomed to do and paid little attention to Zayd's arrangement. Then at the battle of Kadesia (A.D. 637) a great many Qur'án reciters (Qurrá') were slain, amongst whom were the best reciters. So various discrepancies arose even amongst the most intelligent reciters. The inhabitants of Hims stood by the readings of Al-Miqdád, the men of Kúfa by those of Ibn

words of the Lord Most High should be blotted out from the minds of the people and so ordered the Qur'án to be collected.'

preserved in the Meccan dialect. The Khalífa collected all the revelations he could procure and apparently took great pains. Ibn Zubayr says that he read to 'Uthmán the verse 'such of you as shall die and leave wives shall bequeath their wives a year's maintenance' (Súratu'l-Baqara ii. 241), and then pointed out to him that the time limit had been abrogated by verse 234 which prescribed only 'four months and ten days,' so why had he written it. The Khalífa said, 'O nephew, leave it, I will not change anything from its place.'¹

Muslims believe that the Qur'án is perfect and complete—'A book whose verses are established in wisdom and then set forth with clearness' (Súratu Húd xi. 1); but the fact that 'Uthmán and his company of revisers had to consider a variety of readings, to weigh their authority and, if necessary, discard them in favour of the Meccan readings caused much scandal. But a way was found out of the difficulty. Abú ibn Ka'b, one of the companions (Aṣḥáb) of the Prophet was very famous as a Qur'án reciter.² The Prophet had said, 'Read the Qur'án under Abú ibn Ka'b.' In

¹ A Qádiání commentator (*Holy Qur'án*, p. 112) rather inconclusively argues that there is no abrogation. The Shí'ah Imám Ja'far Ṣádiq (Sayyid Maqbúl Aḥmad's *Tafsír*, vol. i, p. 21) says Ibn Zubayr was right as regards the abrogation.

² Other reciters who were considered by the Prophet to be good were 'Abdu'lláh ibn Mas'úd, Salím bin Ma'qal' Mu'áz bin Jabal. Their knowledge of the Prophet's words was so correct that he said, 'Learn the Qur'án from them.' Zayd outlived them all. Syúfi, (*Itqán*, i. 88) says that of the companions (Aṣḥáb) of the Prophet seven were celebrated as Reciters, namely, 'Uthmán, 'Alí, Uṣay, Zayd, Ibn Mas'úd, Abú Darday, Abú Músá'u'l-Ash'arí. From them the knowledge descended to their successors, known as the followers.

by the Prophet in thus obtaining a divine sanction for the various ways of reciting the Qur'án was looked upon as a proof of his inspiration. Thus arose the *Haft qirá'at*, or 'seven readings' of the Qur'án which are now recognized. They are called after the seven men most famous as Qur'án reciters.¹ Each one is called a *Qárí*, a reader, and each one had two disciples, called *Ráwís*, or narrators. 'Uthmán's Qur'án had no vowel points and great differences in pronunciation arose. In course of time public opinion settled down on two of the styles as most appropriate. The reading style of *Hafṣ*, a *Ráwí*, or disciple of Imám 'Áṣim, is followed in India, and that of Imám Náfí in Africa and Arabia. Jalálu'd-Dín in his commentary follows the *qirá'at* of the *Qárí* Imám Abú 'Umar. Those who belong to the legal school (*madhab*) of Ash-Sháfi'í also prefer the same *qirá'at*.² In many cases the meaning is not affected, though sometimes there are disputes about them. The vowel points (اعراب) were invented by *Khalíl ibn Aḥmad* of Baṣra, who was born A.D. 718. He is said to have been the inventor of the hamza, a semi-guttural consonant in frequent use. A good *Háfiz* must be conversant with all the different readings of the

¹ These are Imám ibn Kaṭhír; Imám 'Áṣim; Imám Abú 'Umar; Imám Hamza; Imám Náfí; Imám Kísá'í; Imám ibn 'Amir. Syúṭí, *Itqán*, i. 92.

² These variants are divided into several classes, according to the authority on which they rest and the value they consequently possess. They are :—

- (1) *Qir'át*, when it is based on the direct authority of one of the seven Imáms.
- (2) *Riwáyat*, when some one gives it; quoting the authority of one Imám.
- (3) *Taríq*, when mentioned by some learned man.
- (4) *Wajah*, when the reader may choose between the various readings. See Syúṭí, *Itqán*, i. 93-7.

Imám Mahdí.¹ If this is so, the question naturally arises why 'Alí could not get it sanctioned as the authoritative one. His rivals were in the majority, and he could not circulate his copy, or have gotten it accepted, unless he could have called in 'Uthmán's copy, a thing impossible to do. After the troubles which arose over the assassinations of 'Alí and his sons, the Shí'ahs accepted 'Uthmán's recension, and defend their position by saying that the complete copy will be revealed when Imám Mahdi comes. Some, however, claim that certain alleged verses now omitted are still authoritative, and charge 'Umar and 'Uthmán with having suppressed or altered them.² I have given a list of these on pages 64-5. But the most serious charge in the complete omission of a whole Súra, the Súratu'n-Núrain, or the chapter of the Two Lights, that is, Muḥammad and 'Alí. It is as follows:—

SÚRATU'N-NÚRAIN

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

O ye who believe, believe in the two lights we have sent down, who have recited our signs and warned you of the

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, Décembre, 1843, p. 387. Shí'ahs say that the original Qur'án is in the keeping of the Hidden Imám, and has undergone no change or corruption. 'Aqá'idn'sh-Shí'a, quoted in Browne's *Literary History of Persia in Modern Times*, p. 381.

² Shí'ahs say that Muḥammad's Secretary, 'Abdu'lláh bin Sa'd corrupted the text and refer to Súratu'l-An'ám vi. 53. There seems some truth in this, as he was one of the ten persons proscribed at the taking of Mecca. See Rodwell's *Qur'án*, page 325, and the *Tahríf-i-Qur'án*, p. 115. Chapter iii of this book states, but in terms to general to be of much use, the Shí'ah contention that changes, adverse to their claims, were made. Bukhārī and Muslim record a Tradition that in his last illness Muḥammad wished to write and said, 'Come here that I may write for you a writing that after me you may not go astray.' 'Umar would not bring the writing materials and nothing was done. Sunnis say that he simply wished to write some commands and prohibitions; Shí'ahs say that he wished to re-affirm the succession of 'Alí and that 'Umar prevented it. I cannot vouch for the genuineness of the Tradition, but I give it for what it is worth.

Pharaoh for his opposition to Moses and his brother Aaron. He drowned him and all who followed him as a sign to you, yet most of you are perverse. Truly, God will gather them together in the day of resurrection, and they will not be able to answer when questioned; for them is the Hell, for God is Knowing and Wise.

O Prophet! publish my warnings, perhaps they will follow them. In truth, they who turned from my signs and my orders have perished. As to those who keep thy covenant, I reward them with the Paradise of delights. Truly, God is the pardoner and the great rewarder.

Truly, 'Alí is one of the pious men, and we will restore his rights to him at the Day of Judgement. We are not ignorant of the injustice done to Him. We have exalted him above all thy family, and he and his posterity are patient and his enemies are the chief of sinners.

Say to those who have disbelieved after they had believed, 'You have sought the glory of worldly life and have hastened to gain it, and have forgotten what God and His prophet promised you, and you broke the promises after a strict order about them.' We have given you examples, perhaps, you may be guided.

O Prophet! We have sent thee manifest signs; in them are shown who will believe on him ('Alí) and who after thee will turn away from him ('Alí).

Turn from them; certainly they turn aside and certainly we will summon them on the Day (of Judgement), when nothing shall avail them and no-one shall pity them. Truly, there is a place for them in Hell and they shall not return. Praise the name of thy Lord and be of those who worship Him.

Truly, we sent Moses and Aaron with what was needed and they rebelled against Aaron, Patience is good, so we changed them to monkeys and pigs,¹ and have cursed them

¹ Súratu'l-Baqara ii. 62; Súratu'l-Má'ida v. 65; Súratu'l-A'râf vii. 166.

In the first and third of these references, the punishment is awarded on account of Sabbath breaking, in the second for the rejection of the Scriptures. It is not in any way connected with Moses and

عَلَّمُوا أَنْفُسَهُمْ وَاعْمُوا لِرَسُولٍ ۖ أُولَئِكَ يَسْقُونَ مِنْ حَمِيمٍ ۝ إِنَّ اللَّهَ الَّذِي
 قَوَّرَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ بِمَا شَاءَ وَأَمْطَفَى مِنَ الْمَلَائِكَةِ وَالرُّسُلِ ۖ وَجَعَلَ مِنَ
 الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ۖ ۝ أُولَئِكَ مِنْ خَلْقِهِ ۖ يَفْعَلُ اللَّهُ مَا يَشَاءُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الرَّحْمَنُ الرَّحِيمُ ۝
 قَدْ مَكَرَ الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ يَرْسِلُهُمْ ۖ فَآخَذْتَهُمْ بِمَكْرِهِمْ إِنَّ أَخَذَىٰ هَدِيدُ إِلِيمٍ ۖ ۝
 إِنَّ اللَّهَ قَدْ أَهْلَكَ عَادًا وَثَمُودَ بِمَا كَسَبُوا وَجَعَلَهُمْ لَكُمْ تَذْكِرَةً ۖ فَلَا تَتَّقُونَ ۖ ۝
 وَفِرْعَوْنَ بِمَا طَغَىٰ عَلَىٰ مُوسَىٰ وَآخِيهِ هَارُونَ ۖ أَغْرَقْنَاهُ وَمَنْ تَبِعَهُ أَجْمَعِينَ ۖ ۝
 لِيَكُونَ لَكُمْ آيَةٌ ۖ وَإِنْ أَكْثَرَكُمْ فَاسِقُونَ ۖ ۝ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَجْمَعُهُمْ يَوْمَ الْحَشْرِ ۖ
 فَلَا يَسْتَطِيعُونَ الْجِرَابَ حِينَ يُسْأَلُونَ ۖ ۝ إِنَّ الْجَحِيمَ مَأْوَاهُمْ ۖ وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ
 حَكِيمٌ ۖ ۝ يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ أِنذَارِي فَسَوْفَ يَعْمَلُونَ ۖ ۝ قَدْ خَسِرَ الَّذِينَ كَانُوا
 عَنْ آيَاتِي وَحُكْمِي مُعْرِضُونَ ۖ ۝ مَثَلُ الَّذِينَ يُؤْفُونَ بِعَهْدِكَ إِنْ جِزِيَهُمْ جَنَابِ
 النَّعِيمِ ۖ ۝ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَذُو مَغْفِرَةٍ وَأَجْرٍ عَظِيمٍ ۖ ۝ وَإِنْ عَلَيَّا لَمِنْ الْمُتَّقِينَ ۖ ۝ وَإِنَّا
 لَنُوفِيهِ حَقَّهُ يَوْمَ الدِّينِ ۖ وَمَا نَحْنُ عَنْ ظُلْمِهِ بِغَافِلِينَ ۖ ۝ وَكَرَّمْنَاهُ عَلَىٰ أَهْلِكَ
 أَجْمَعِينَ ۖ ۝ وَأَفْءَ وَذَرِيقَةً لِّصَابِرُونَ ۖ ۝ وَإِنَّ عَذَابَهُمْ إِمَامُ الْمُجْرِمِينَ ۖ ۝ قُلْ
 لِلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا بَعْدَ مَا آمَنُوا ۖ طَلَبْتُمْ زِينَةَ الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا ۖ وَاسْتَعْجَلْتُمْ بِهَا ۖ وَنَسِيتُمْ
 مَا وَعَدَكُمُ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ ۖ وَنَقَضْتُمْ الْعَهْدَ مِنْ بَعْدِ تَوْكِيدِهَا ۖ وَقَدْ صَرَبْنَا لَكُمْ
 الْأَمْثَالَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَهْتَدُونَ ۖ ۝ يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ قَدْ أَنْزَلْنَا إِلَيْكَ آيَاتٍ بَيِّنَاتٍ ۖ فِيهَا
 مَنْ يَتَوَلَّاهُ مُؤْمِنًا ۖ وَمَنْ يَتَوَلَّاهُ مِنْ بَعْدِكَ يُظْهِرُونَ ۖ ۝ فَأَعْرِضْ عَنْهُمْ ۖ إِنَّهُمْ
 مُعْرِضُونَ ۖ ۝ إِنَّا لَهُمْ مُصْرِضُونَ ۖ فِي يَوْمٍ لَا يُغْنِي عَنْهُمْ شَيْءٌ ۖ وَلَهُمْ يَرْحَمُونَ ۖ ۝
 إِنَّ لَهُمْ فِي جَهَنَّمَ مَقَامًا ۖ عَنْهُ لَا يُعْدِلُونَ ۖ ۝ فَسَبِّحْ بِاسْمِ رَبِّكَ وَكُنْ

while on the other hand he declines to say that it is a forgery.

On the whole, the weight of evidence seems to be against the Shí'ah claim. 'Alí and his followers were a powerful body during the Khalífate of 'Uthmán; they must have known very well whatever the Prophet had said about 'Alí; and it is not easy to believe that, powerful as they were, they would have allowed 'Uthmán to suppress all such passages. Then when 'Alí became Khalífa he could, if he had so willed, have produced his copy of the Qur'án. The passions raised by civil war were already so strong, that it is not likely that such an action as that would have so increased them as to lead to still further danger to the Khalífate. The fact is that the cult of 'Alí, a most curious and interesting phase of religious thought, is of very much later growth; and when it developed it needed all the support that these supposed revelations could give it.

The Qádiání commentator dismisses the Shí'ah claim in his usual contemptuous manner by calling their views absurd and says of Jalalu'd-Dín Syúfí, author of the *Itqán*, that he is 'looked upon as the last person on whom any reliance can be placed.' He also says concerning the Shí'ah statement about omissions in the Qur'án that it 'is largely the ignorant masses' that think so.¹

The way in which the various recensions were made and the need for them shows that the Qur'án, like other ancient books, is open to criticism, and that the orthodox mechanical view of inspiration

¹ *Holy Qur'án*, pp. lxxvi, lxxvii, xc. 1.

by heart, and to learn the whole is an act of great merit. This feat, however, will be of little use unless the Háfiz, when reciting it, observes all the rules and regulations framed for such an act. This recital is called *tiláwat*, but before any one can recite correctly he must have some acquaintance with what is called 'Ilmu't-Tajwíd. This includes a knowledge of the punctuation and peculiar spelling (*Rasmu'l-Khatt*) of the Qur'án. The subject is too technical to enter fully upon here, so I only give a brief outline of the subject.¹

The object of the special punctuation is to show the reciter where proper pauses are to be made. These pauses are elaborated in great detail. Each has its appropriate symbol, which is written (or printed) in the text of the Qur'án. Thus a necessary pause is called *Waqf-i-lázim* (وقف لازم) and its sign is م. In *Suratu'l-Baqara* ii. 7 'yet are they not believers م. Fain would they deceive God.' if there were no *waqf* after believers it would seem as if believers would deceive God. *Waqf-i-Muṭlaq* (وقف مطلق) is used where its absence would affect the sense. Thus, 'King of the day of reckoning thee only do we worship' (*Súratu'l-Fátiḥa* i. 3-4). The sign of this *waqf* is ط and so we read 'King of the day of reckoning ط thee only do we worship.' The reason is that between the expression of God's attributes and man's need, a pause must be made. Some pauses are optional, the signs of which are ج and ز. These are all ancient; in later days others

¹ A full account will be found in my book, '*Ilmu't-Tajwíd*, published by the C. L. S.

The various Qárís state the number of verses differently, owing to placing the full stop, the sign of which is o, in different positions. According to the qirá'at of the Qárí 'Áṣim there are 6,239 verses, the Baṣra Qárís make out 6,204, the Qárís of Shám (Syria) 6,225.

All copies should now follow the recension of the Khalífa 'Uṭhmán. Any one who alters a pause, or a letter, even if the sense is not affected, is guilty of a very grave offence. To make a correct copy is difficult, because the spelling of many words in the Qur'án follows special or peculiar rules, to which again there are many exceptions. This is known as the Rasmu'l-Khatt (رسم الخط). This copying is a technical art and so we need not go into its minute details; but it shows the great care taken to make all copies coincide with the authorized recension.¹

After all, leaving these minute details, it is more important to discover by historical criticism the order in which the various portions of the Qur'án were delivered, and this, by applying to it the general principles of the Higher Criticism, I have tried to show in my *Historical Development of the Qur'án*.²

In 1895 Dr. Agnes Smith Lewis in Suez secured a palimpsest manuscript of rare value. After a re-agent had been applied, some passages of the

top shows that this is the third rukú' from the commencement of the Súra in which it occurs; the 9 (9) in the centre gives the number of verses in this rukú'; the 8 (8) at the bottom shows that this is the eighth rukú' in the juz.

¹ For a complete account see my '*Ilmu't-Tajwíd*, pp. 22-37.

² Simkin, Marshal, Kent, Hamilton & Co., London; Diocesan Press, Madras.

their views on the old orthodox mechanical idea of inspiration. It is not easy to credit Gabriel or any other angel with bringing some portions of the revelation. 'But there is a wide range of experience in which a man of prophetic power, of divine visions and communings, might often lose himself, and mistake memories, fragments of forgotten knowledge, germinating imaginations and aspirations for words of God.'¹ The Modernist school in Islám is moving in the right direction. Sayyid Amír 'Alí attributes the present stagnation of Islám to the fact that the right of private judgement ceased with the early legists of Islám and that its exercise in modern times is sinful.² Maulavi Cherágh 'Alí says, 'It is only from some oversight on the part of compilers of the Common Law that, in the first place, the civil precepts of a transitory nature were taken as final.'³

I have already referred to the views of this learned Maulavi on inspiration, but I may conveniently repeat them here. He says, 'A prophet feels that his mind is illumined by God and the thoughts which are expressed by him, and spoken or written under His influence, are to be regarded as the words of God. This illumination of the mind, or effect of the divine influence, differs in the prophet, according to the capacity of the recipient, or according to the circumstances in which he is placed.'⁴ This effectively disposes of the orthodox mechanical idea of inspiration. All this leaves

¹ *British Quarterly*, April 1877, v. 346.

² *Spirit of Islám*, p. 287.

³ *Critical Exposition of Jihād*, p. xcii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xix.

pessimistic a tone, concluded his appeal in these words, ' Unless a miracle of reform takes place, we Muḥammadans are doomed to extinction, and shall have deserved our fate.'¹

The following statement by an able scholar in our own day, who has made a profound study of the Islāmic system, is worthy of close attention. He says, ' Christianity escaped from its scholastic shell at the Reformation. Islām still awaits that deliverance and new birth. The West has outstripped the East in science and culture, and is busy just now in paying back the debt it owed to Islām since the revival of learning in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. What will be the effect upon Islām of the infusion of the Western spirit into the East it is impossible to say. At present Islām is doing what it did before, falling back upon tradition. It will learn from the West in everything but religion. But when new life begins to stir no religion can permanently rest upon tradition. Sooner or later the new spirit must affect it. There are indications that it is already beginning to do so, especially in India and Egypt. At any rate the scholastic system of Muḥammadan theology is bound to be loosened and Islām will begin to adapt itself to the modern spirit.'²

The teaching of Christ rests upon His sacred and holy life ; that of Muḥammad is bound up with the letter of a book.

¹ *Causes of the Decline of the Muḥammadan Nation*, p. 80.

² Bell, *The Origin of Islām in its Christian Environment*, p. 216. This is a valuable work which all students of Islām should carefully study.

realized the greatness of the forces thus arranged against her, or estimated aright the difficulties to be overcome? Century after century passed by and the Church was silent. When, then, we remember our past neglect, the points of contact in some matters of belief between us and Muslims, the conscious groping for light some of them have shown, the repudiation of much that is narrow, superstitious and immoral by a few imbued with a modern spirit and with a wider outlook, whose ideas will doubtless more and more affect the thinking classes—when we remember all these things, are we not distinctly called upon to try and understand this great Islámic system, and then to seek to win the Muslim for his rightful Lord and Master, and to set before him with earnest love and patient sympathy the grace, the glory, and the power of Him, who is the Way, the Truth and the Life?

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